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LANDGUARD FORT
IN SUFFOLK

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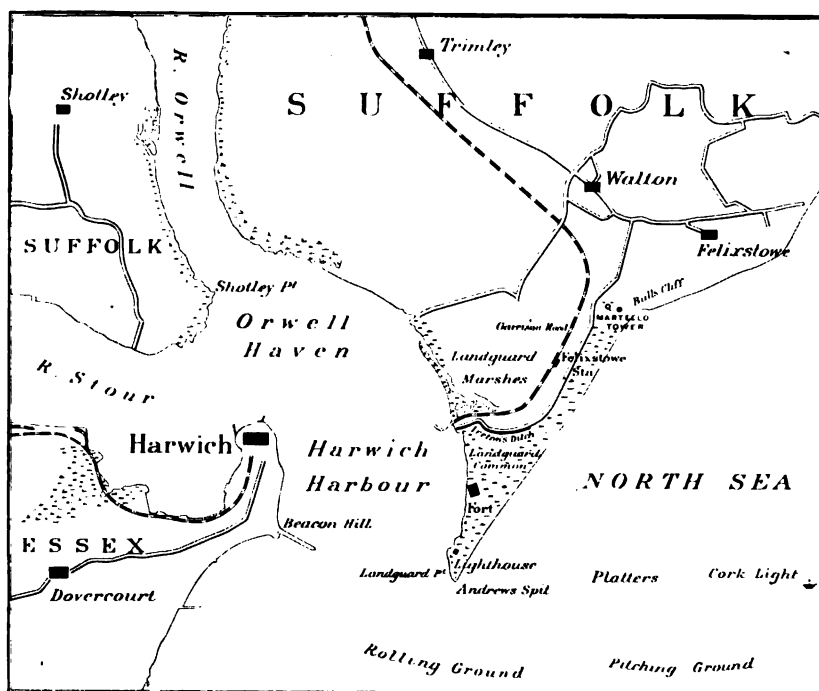
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Frontispiece.



MAP OF COUNTRY AROUND LANDGUARD FORT.

Scale:— $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch = 1 mile.

THE
HISTORY OF LANDGUARD FORT,
IN SUFFOLK.

BY
MAJOR JOHN HENRY LESLIE,
Late Royal Artillery.

Published with the sanction of the Secretary of State for War.

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OF LENOX AND
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HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AND STRATHEARN,

K.G., K.T., K.P., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.,

G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.C.B., A.D.C.

A. Har dy: M. s: h. w. - 16 August, 1965

THE
JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
VOLUME 34
PART 1
1904

PREFACE.

VERY few people, probably, except soldiers who have the good fortune, or the misfortune, to be quartered at Landguard Fort, have ever heard of the place; still fewer know where it is, and scarcely anyone is aware that it possesses a history.

Whether its history will be found interesting is not for me to say; those who read this book must judge for themselves.

"The History of Landguard Fort, in Suffolk," is, I believe, the first work of its kind that has ever been published; it had its origin in this wise:—

In 1896 I was in command of a company of Garrison Artillery, (No. 18 company, Eastern Division, Royal Artillery) stationed at Shoeburyness, but under orders to move in relief to Landguard Fort in October of that year. Towards the end of September I went to Landguard on a short visit of exploration, and returning thence stopped for a night at Ipswich, and dined with a friend of mine at his house there.

In the course of after-dinner conversation, which naturally turned upon Landguard, my host remarked, "I can tell you a good deal about Landguard—you ought to write the history of the Fort," offering at the same time to lend me the volume of the calendar of State Papers, Domestic, for the year 1667. Thus was the book conceived. Eighteen months later it sees the light of day.

The "friend" and "host" above alluded to is Colonel J. H. Josselyn, V.D., late Commanding Officer, and now Hon. Colonel of the 1st Volunteer Battalion, the Suffolk Regiment, one of a very old and well-known family in East Anglia, and a member of the legal profession.

It is to his very considerable local, historical, and genealogical knowledge, freely placed at my service, that I am mainly indebted

for having been enabled to place before the public this little work, and I desire to acknowledge in the fullest possible manner all the assistance which he has given me, and the time he has devoted to revising the whole of the MSS.—in fact I might almost call him a joint author.

I desire also to acknowledge with thanks much help and advice from the following gentlemen :—

Viscount Cobham ; Lord Napier and Ettrick, K.T. ; Lieut. G. E. Bolster, Royal Artillery ; Mr. R. C. Bolster ; Captain A. B. Denne, Royal Artillery ; Mr. C. H. Firth ; Professor S. R. Gardiner, D.C.L. ; Dr. R. Garnett, C.B. ; Professor J. K. Laughton ; the Rev. W. E. Layton ; and Colonel H. Mussenden Leathes ; nor must I omit to acknowledge the great use I have made of Dalton's "English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714."

I desire also to thank the following for their kindness in placing pictures and miniatures at my disposal :—

Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. ; Mr. T. C. Blofeld ; the Rev. J. S. Brownrigg ; Mr. F. Mason ; the Rev. J. W. Napier-Clavering ; Mr. E. Stow Thompson ; and Captain Horace Trelawny.

Lastly, I wish to thank Mr. Felix Cobbold, and Mr. Eliot Hodgkin for granting me access to their manuscripts ; Mr. T. Miller, C.E., for furnishing me with several old maps and plans of Landguard ; and Mr. J. Darell-Blount for allowing me to photograph the Dutch scaling-ladder, mentioned in Chapter XI.

I submit the book, with all diffidence, as a maiden effort, to the judgment of a generous public, feeling certain that the records of Landguard Fort, *quâ* fort, are justly worthy of a place amongst the traditions of Great Britain and her defenders.

J. H. LESLIE, Major,

Late Royal Artillery.

Hathersage, Derbyshire,

May 4, 1898.

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THE HISTORY OF LANDGUARD FORT, IN SUFFOLK.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

LANDGUARD FORT stands on a point of land at the south-east extremity of the county of Suffolk (Long. $1^{\circ} 19' E.$, Lat. $51^{\circ} 55' N.$) at the mouth of Harwich harbour, where the rivers Stour and Orwell flow into the German Ocean (*frontispiece*). It is included in the Eastern Military District, forming part of the Harwich defences, and lies within the parish of Felixstowe.

The name Landguard is of comparatively modern date. The locality has been at various times known by many different names—from Langestuna in Domesday Survey, to Landguard to-day.

In a map of 1534 (*plate 1*) the land immediately surrounding the fort is called "Lunger Pointe." In Saxon's map of 1580 it is styled Langerston, and also in maps of 1610 and 1648.

In State papers the locality is frequently referred to by differently spelt names, amongst them being Langar, Longrode, Langar-rodd, Langarssid, Langor, Langeis, Languer, and Langer. The last of these survives in the vicinity at the present time, and is the name by which the place is described in the rolls of the ancient manor within the ambit of which it lies. Langer may, therefore, be accepted as the correct name.

With such variety of nomenclature, and in view of the frequency with which, in times gone by, we meet with instances in which men have changed the spelling of even family surnames, we can well imagine that some of our soldier ancestors have transformed peaceful Langer into fire-breathing Landguard—a phonetic transition as simple as it is unmeaning. In this short history, however, the modern appellation of Landguard will be adhered to.

Great diversity of opinion appears to have existed as to whether Landguard has always been situated in Suffolk, or whether it was not at one time in Essex. I incline to the opinion that it has always been, as it now is, in Suffolk, though I think there is no doubt that it was formerly detached from the mainland, and was—at any rate at high water—an island.

Silas Taylor, who was keeper of the King's store at Harwich from 1665 to 1678, says in his history of that town, written in 1676 (published by Samuel Dale in 1730), "The principal Officers of his Majesty's Ordinance in the Tower of London, do still (according to former Precedents) continue the Writing of Landguard-Fort in Essex;" and in a map of Essex, published about the year 1750 by Eman. Bowen, Geographer to his Majesty the King, there is a marginal note to the effect that "Landguard Fort is within the limits of Essex, though it seems to belong to Suffolk," and the fort is shown on that map standing on what seems to be a sand-bank, seaward of the point.

It appears to me quite possible that for administrative purposes Landguard *was* included in Essex. Being purely a military station, in pre-railway days, all correspondence thereto and therefrom was sent to Harwich for transmission, a much quicker and shorter way than through Ipswich, and even to-day ninety-nine people out of a hundred would probably tell you that Landguard is "somewhere near Harwich." Letters from all sources, including the War Office, are frequently addressed "Landguard, Harwich"; and even as late as the year 1886, the official monthly army list shows a battery of garrison artillery as quartered at "Landguard Fort, Essex." If, in the year of grace 1886, such a geographical error is invested with a certain amount of authority by being printed in a government official publication, we must not be too hard on our predecessors if they fell into the natural mistake of supposing that Landguard was, once upon a time, actually *in the county of Essex*.

In the earlier maps above referred to, Langerston is shown as a bank of sand or shingle, separated from the mainland. In a map of 1790 it is shown, for the first time, as *on* the mainland.

A survey of the county of Suffolk, made in the year 1587,¹ speaks of the ground at the point (*i.e.* where the fort now stands) thus:—

"defended by the cominge in of the water at everye floode, ys alsoe devyded from the maine lande, and so for the tyem ys made (in effecte) an Iland."

Silas Taylor, before-mentioned, says,² "it is generally believed that the Stour did formerly in a streighter current (than now it doth) discharge itself into the Sea about Hoasley⁴ Bay, under the Highlands of Walton-Coleness⁵ and Felixstowe, in the county of Suffolk, betwixt which and Landguard Fort are, as they are reputed, certain remains of the old Channel which the neigh-

¹ "The History and Antiquities of Harwich and Dovercourt." London, 1732. pp. 15-16.

² State Papers, Domestic. Elizabeth. Vol. 206, No. 32.

³ "The History and Antiquities of Harwich and Dovercourt." London, 1732. p. 14.

⁴ Hollesley Bay.

⁵ Walton lies in the hundred of Colneis.

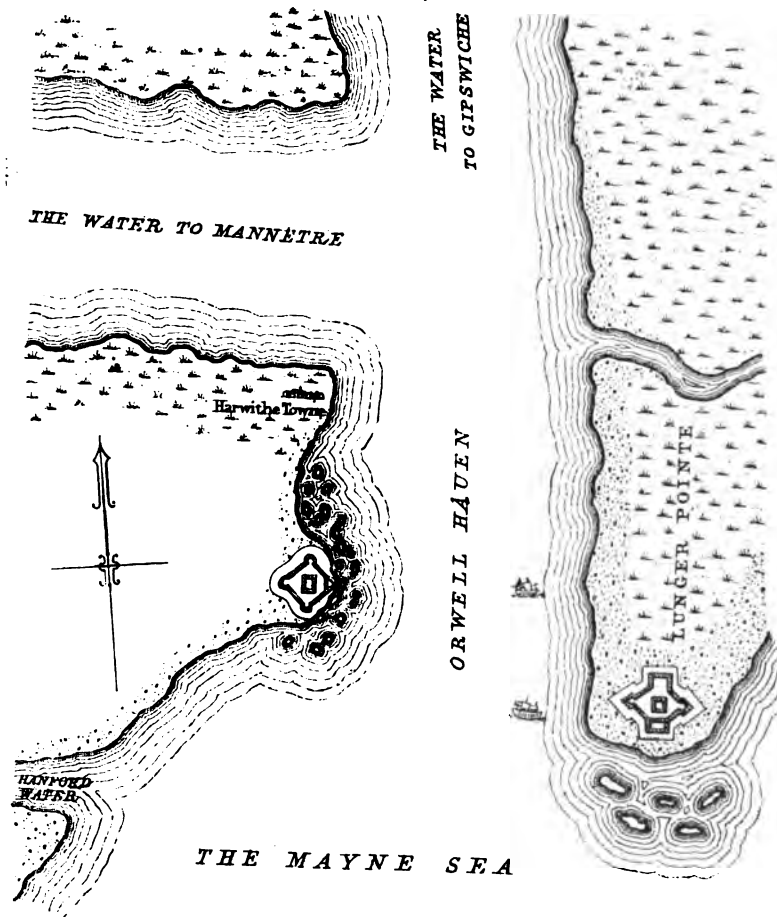
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PLATE I.



MAP SHOWING PROPOSED FORTIFICATIONS AT LANDGUARD—1534.

bouring inhabitants still call Fleets, retaining at this day the tradition of the Course of the Water, and the Entrance into this Haven to have heretofore been by and through them." The Essex historian Morant also advocates this theory.

In a map of 1797 Landguard Common is divided into two distinct parts—that adjoining the fort being called Langer Dry Common, extending as far as Ireton's Ditch, and the remainder Langer Wet Common.

I think, therefore, that there is considerable evidence of the former existence of a tidal entrance to the rivers Stour and Orwell, between Landguard Point and the foot of the Felixstowe-Walton line of cliffs.

At the present time Landguard is absolutely on the mainland, and except for a small winding canal-like channel in the low marshy ground near the Felixstowe railway station, there is no trace of any watercourse where the sea could have come in, or the rivers flowed out.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY FORTIFICATIONS AT LANDGUARD—1534 TO 1588.

LANDGUARD FORT played a most important part when England was at war with the Dutch in the 17th century (1665–1667). The history of this fort has never been written—short, incomplete, and often very inaccurate, paragraphs in guide-books and county histories having hitherto been all that has been afforded to the general reader on the subject.

Landguard Fort, as a fort, was built in the reign of Charles I.,—completed in 1627–28. But, before that date, a fortification of some description—in all probability an earth-work, referred to in all the documents of that time as a "Bulworke"—must certainly have existed here.

Fortunately I have been able to discover records which establish, beyond possibility of doubt, the fact that some fortification stood here in the middle of the 16th century; and which also show clearly that our rulers were, even in those early times, by no means blind to the strategical importance of the place.

The earliest known record of any fortification here is a large coloured map,¹ measuring 37 by 31 inches, in the Cottonian Library at the British Museum, entitled "This plott made by M^r Lee. A^{no} 25 Hen 8th," (*i.e.* 1534) on which is shown a large four-sided fort at "Lunger Pointe"—a projected fortification (*plate 1*).

¹ Cotton MSS. Augustus 1. Vol. 1, 56.

The next reference to Landguard, which has come under notice, bears date 1539. It is taken from a publication edited by Sir Samuel Brydges—a well-known literary man of the 18th century—entitled “*Censura Literaria*; containing Titles, Extracts, and Opinions of Old English Books, especially those which are scarce,” published in 1815 (2nd edition). The reference to Landguard is to be found in vol. 5, p. 298, under the heading “An Exhortation in defence of Henry VIII. 1539,” which, after detailing what the King had done in fortifying certain towns and castles, concludes with these words: “Langers Poynte, Orwell Haven are to be fortified.”

In 1539, John de Vere, Earl of Oxford,¹ and Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex,² were appointed Commissioners to inspect the sea coast in the county of Essex, and to report what steps would be necessary to place that coast in a state of defence against an enemy. Their report³ is dated from St. Osyth,⁴ March 27, 1539, and in it the following passage occurs:—

“There is between that h[aven and] Colnes being on Suffolk syde a point called Lan [ger Point] where ther maye arryve and londe 20 thousand [men] and resorte to theyre shyppes ageyne, withoute dawnger [for] neyther they of Suffolke syde where they maye a[rrive] nor yet they of Harwyche shoulde do theym dis[turbance]. For the advoyding whereof, if it myght lyke the [King’s] highenes that a substanciall Blokehowse myght b[e buylt] and made at the same poynt, and fortifyed with Ordyn[ance], it wolde keape all that streame on both sydis from [any] dawnger.”

The document is signed by John Oxynford, and Henry Essex, and is addressed to “theyre veraye goode Lordis the Lorde Chauncelor,⁵ and the lorde privie seale.”⁶ It has, unfortunately, been burnt at the edges, and is, in consequence, imperfect. The words above, given in brackets, have been supplied to complete the wording of the document.

The evidence afforded by these documents is, I think, sufficient to enable one to arrive at a distinct conclusion that in 1540 there was no fortification in existence at Landguard.

In the State papers, however, of 1547, the year of the accession of Edward VI., there is “A brief of the charge of the Block-houses in

¹ 16th Earl, and Great Chamberlain. Died 1562.

² 2nd Earl. Captain of the King’s Horse Guard. Died in 1539 from the effects of a fall from his horse.

³ Cotton MSS. Otho E., XI., fol. 294.

⁴ In Essex, at the mouth of river Colne, left bank.

⁵ Thomas, Baron Audley of Walden, K.G.; Lord Chancellor of England in 1533. Died 1544, and is buried at Saffron Walden.

⁶ Thomas, Baron Cromwell of Okeham, K.G.; created Earl of Essex, 1539, and Lord High Chamberlain of England.

Essex"¹ dated February of that year, from which the following statement is taken:—

"THE KING'S MAJESTIES' BLOCKHOUSES² IN ESSEX."

The house at Langer Point.	{		£	s.	d.
		The Capitayne at 16d. by day for himself, and 12d. for two soldiers per annum...	42	11	8
		The Lieutenaunt at 12d. by the day, by yere amounteth to	18	5	0
		The Porter at 8d. by the day, by yere ...	12	3	4
		Six Gonners at 6d. the daye for everie of them, by yere	54	15	0
		Summa totalis	£127	15	0
The house at Langer Rood.	{		£	s.	d.
		The Capitayne at 16d. the daye for him- self, and two soldiers 12d. the daye, amounteth by yere	42	11	8
		The Lieutenaunt at 12d. the daye, by yere	18	5	0
		The Porter at 8d. the daye, by yere ...	12	3	4
		Six Gonners at 6d. the daye for everie of them, by yere	54	15	0
		Summa totalis	£127	15	0

It is noticeable that here, as in many other cases, Landguard is included in the defences, not of Suffolk, but of the neighbouring county, Essex.

The foregoing extract affords good proof that between 1540 and 1547 two so-called block-houses had been constructed at Landguard, and that they were in 1547 occupied by garrisons.

One of these works was evidently at the Point. The other "Langer Rood," was not improbably either the same place as, or in the immediate vicinity of, the spot now called "Garrison Rood" or "Garrison Spring"—the fountain-head of the fort water supply. The situation of the "Rood" is shown on the frontispiece map, and the position of the old bulwark would have been thereabouts. The site is, from a military point of view, an excellent one, as, from its elevated position, it commands Harwich harbour, and all the ground surrounding the fort.

A later document³ of the same reign affords yet further evidence to the same effect by giving a list of "Fortificacons and Buyldinges for the Warre within the realme of Englande, with the wages of the same, betwene the firste of Marche anno XXXmo Henrici Octavi and Michas. anno Vito Edwardi Sexti." Amongst those fortifications appears "Langor Pointe,"

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Edward VI. Vol. 1, No. 22.

² Blockhouse—a defensible guard-house, or barrack.

³ State Papers, Domestic. Edward VI. Vol. 15, No. 11.

and wages are shown in the list as due in "the said late Kinges time for two years," *i.e.* in the time of Henry VIII., who had died in January, 1547.

Hence the date of the first construction of any fortification at Landguard may, I think, not unreasonably be fixed as 1540-1545.

Guns and ammunition must have been provided, for we read¹ that in 1553 the "Ordinaunce and Municon,"² remaining with the seven bulwarkes at Langer, Harwiche, and Marsey"³ were to be removed to the Tower of London.

Why these bulwarks were to be then dismantled is not clear. Possibly pecuniary considerations necessitated such a course. England was at peace, and expensive establishments could not be maintained for pleasure, for it must be borne in mind that at this period there was no standing army. The "Bulwarkes," as a natural consequence, disappeared, and Landguard is not again heard of in connection with coast defence until 1587.

CHAPTER III.

THE LANDGUARD "BULWARKES" OF 1588.

IN 1587 preparations were being actively made throughout the country against the expected invasion by Philip of Spain, with the Great Armada, and the undefended condition of the coast of Suffolk, and of the very important harbour at the mouth of the river Orwell naturally received early attention. It may be mentioned incidentally that the strength of the Harwich garrison at this time was 17,000 men (Plymouth having the same number of men, and Portsmouth a thousand less), a fact which shows very clearly the high importance attached to the harbour of Harwich.⁴

Among the State papers of the reign of Queen Elizabeth is "A Survey of the Coast of Suffolk, 13 December 1587,"⁵ in the following terms:—

"Touching the Fortificacions of the Coast of Suffolk, Langer Poynt we fynde to be a place of as great danger as any we have in this Cowntie so apt for the enemy to land at, as withowte helpe or use of boate, they may leape on land owte of their shippes. Beynge landed, the place serveth verye stronglie for the enemy to encampe him selfe, having ther great romthe⁶ and space of playne and drye grownde. Two parttes wherof ys defended by the sea, and the other parte by the cominge in of the water at everye floode, ys alsoe devyded from the maine lande, and soe for the tyem

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Edward VI. Vol. 4, No. 45. Addenda.

² Ammunition.

³ Mersey Island, Essex.

⁴ The garrison at the present time is less than 50.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic. Elizabeth. Vol. 206, No. 32.

⁶ Room.

ys made (in effecte) an Iland. Beinge ther landed he may play upon the towne of Harwyche with his greate Ordinance at his pleasure, or with his boates land men on Essex syde, or on the other partte of Suffolk syde called Shotteley. If otherwise he entend to go on wheare he ys landed the Countrie ys ther plaine and champyon,¹ apte to marche thorowe with a great Arme, and so althowghe he shall passe by dyvers villages, yet withowte any streightes, or places of advantage to annoye, or resiste him, untill he approche to the verye howses and Towne of Ipswich, for remedye whereof we entend to make a sconse² with walles of Toorfe,³ wher ther must be planted 6 peeces of Ordynance."

This document is not addressed to anybody, nor is it signed.

In January 1588, the Deputy Lieutenants of Suffolk recommended to the Privy Council the desirability of fortifying the Suffolk coast, after having made a personal inspection of it in company with a certain "Mr. Captayne Turner," who had apparently been sent from London to assist them with his professional opinion.

Their report,⁴ after preamble, says :—

"Some places doe shewe great daunger, not onlie for the yealding of the possession of the said places and townes neste adjoyning into the enemies handes, but for the laying open before him a most large and Champion¹ Countrie to marche even with verie mayne and great batailles. . . . The principall and chief for respecte of the daunger aforesaid are Langer Pointe over against Harwich and Leistoft,⁵ the head of the Iland of Lothingland.⁶ The particular circumstances of the benefyte which will growe of fortificacion in thes places, and the severall necessities of the same, with the perill which may growe for the leaving of the same undone, we leave to your grave consideration of our former certificattes, and the Reports of Mr. Captayne Turner, being nowe an eye witnes."

The report continues with expressions of great loyalty and devotion to the Queen's cause, and concludes thus :—

"If therefore it may please your honorable good Lordshippes to move Her Majestie to a contribution of some 1,000 pounds for the fortifieing of thes places of greatest daunger with field peeces necessarie for the defence of this coast, which somme will not defraye one quarter of the charge and which this countrie will most willinglie contribute unto, then we will no whitte doubt but that we shall most joyfullie encounter with any power

¹ Champaign—flat, open country.

² A Bulwark—a work for defence.

³ Turf.

⁴ State Papers, Domestic. Elizabeth. Vol. 208, No. 23.

⁵ Lowestoft.

⁶ The old half-hundred of Lothing, otherwise Lothingland, is a narrow tract of land at N.E. extremity of Suffolk, which was in former times an island.

of the enemye whatsoever, and subdue the same to Her Majestie's great honour, and the safetie not onlie of our selves, but of our posteritie after us."

The report is signed by "Phill Parker ;¹ Roberte Jermyn ;² Robert Wyngfield ;³ Jo. Heigham."⁴

It would thus appear that in 1588 there was no fortification of any kind at Landguard, all trace of the former "bulwarks" having then vanished.

In that year, however, the fortifications were re-constructed, for the State papers⁵ of 1588 refer to "Langgarsid Bulwork" and "Langgarrodd Bulwork," giving their respective establishments, and rates of pay, in exactly the same terms as in 1547 (*see* p. 5.)

The following extracts from the Ipswich Chamberlain's yearly accounts of receipts and payments for 1588 show that the work at Landguard was in progress during the latter part of that year:—

"19 September.—Item, for fetchinge of the inhabitauntes of Harwich to the Knightes to Langer, 4d.

Item, to Master Gregory for drawinge of a plateforme for the Bullworke at Langer, 10s.

Item, for fetchinge the same plateforme from him and carring it to Sur Phelipp Parker, 2s.

26 October.—Item, to Mistress Lymfilde for wyne, suger, cakes and beere, bestowed upon Sir Philip Parker and his men, 8s. 6d.

19 December.—Item, to Mistress Lymefilde for a supper, a breakfaste and hors meate bestowed on Sir Philipp Parker and his men, £1 11s.

Item, for the hier of 7 horse to Langer, when the knightes and the rest of the gentlemen rid thether, for to carye their muskettes and there to shoote at their apoyntements."

Why Sir Philip Parker took his knights to Landguard, in the month of December, and what the operation of shooting "at their apoyntements" was, is difficult to say. I do not think the expression is synonymous with our present "annual course of musketry."

¹ Sir Philip Parker, of Erwardon, in Suffolk, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, in her progress through the county, in 1578; Sheriff of Suffolk 1580.

² Sir Robert Jermyn, Knt., of Rushbrooke in Suffolk; sheriff of Suffolk 1579.

³ Sir Robert Wingfield, Knt., of Letteringham; high sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk 1561.

⁴ Sir John Heigham, Knt., of Barrow Hall; sheriff of Suffolk 1577; M.P. for Ipswich 1585.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic. Elizabeth. Vol. 221, p. 23d.

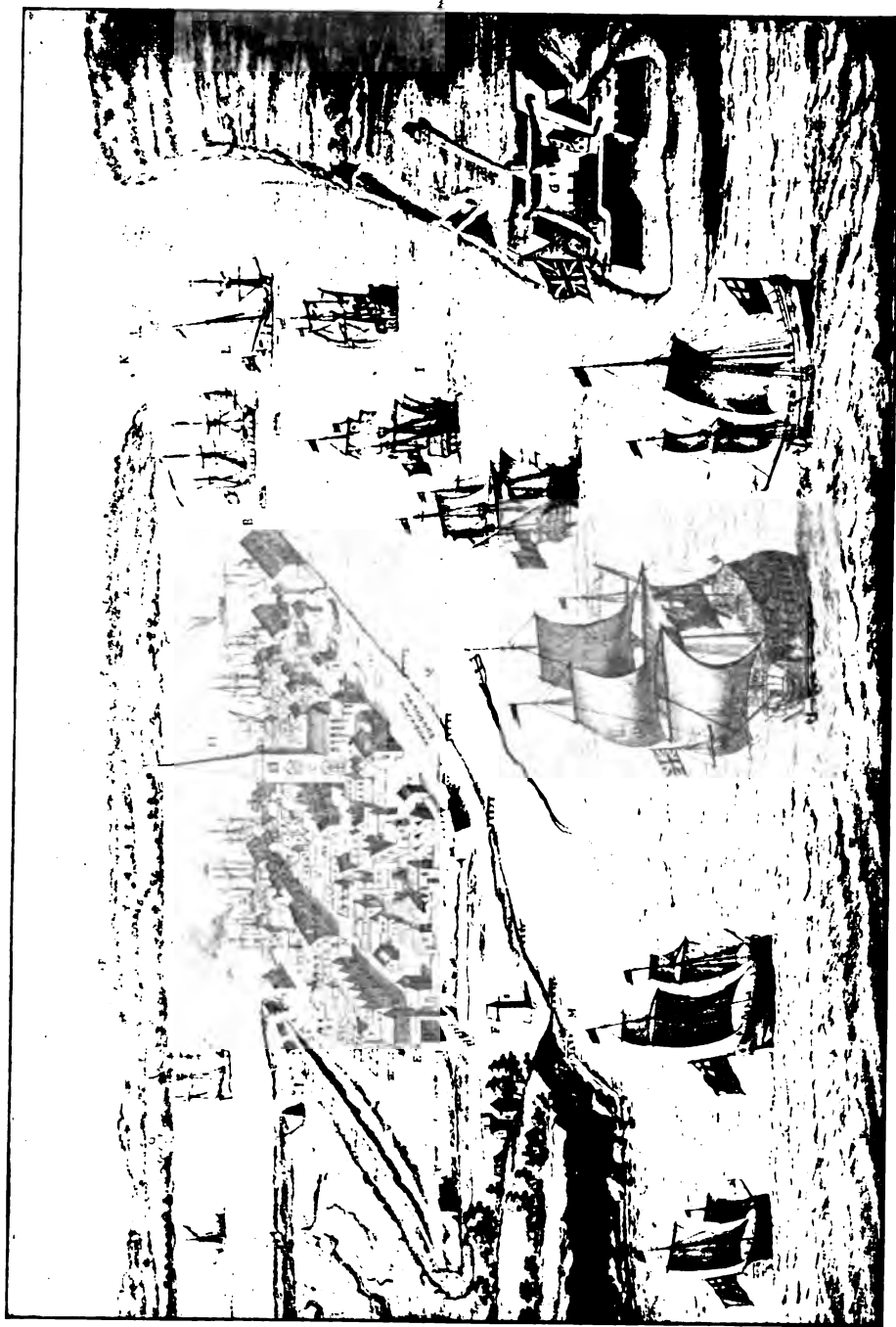
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PLATE II.



"A PROSPECT OF THE TOWNE AND HARBOUR OF HARWICH."

A, the Queen's Yard and Storehouse. B, the Queen's Key. C, St. Nicholas Church. D, the Towne Hall. E, the Gate leading to London and the Fire Lighthouse over it. F, the Candle Lighthouse. G, Landguard Fort. H, the Harbour behind the Towne and the River leading to Manningtree. I, Orwell Haven. K, the River leading to Ipswich. L, the Pucquett Boule. M, the Breakers. N, West Street. O, Shotley Gate House. P, Shotley Church.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BUILDING OF THE FIRST FORT—1626 TO 1628.

FOR the next thirty years from 1588 there is but little to record about the fort. Queen Elizabeth was dead, and James I. had ascended the throne. All the coast defences of the country appear to have been quite neglected and to have become much dilapidated. During this period Landguard Fort is occasionally mentioned in letters, but only with reference to cases of shipwreck and incidents of a like character.

In 1621, however, it was once more realised that steps ought to be taken "that all the coasts be put in a state of defence."¹

Still, nothing appears to have been done in the matter until August 1623, when a commission, consisting of Colonel Sir John Ogle,² Sir Richard Morrison,³ and Sir John Keyes,⁴ "with an ingenieur or two, and other expert men," was appointed "to visite and reforme all the Castles and Forts, and those they shall find of little or no use to rase and demolish, and such as shall be neicessarie, to renewe and fortifye *alla moderna*."⁵

The commissioners' report was duly presented to, and considered by the King,⁶ but it was not until June 1624, that the council of war determined to take action upon it.⁷ It was then decided to erect a new fort at Landguard, and the work was at once commenced under the orders of the Earl of Warwick,⁸ who was at that time joined with the Earl of Sussex⁹ as Lieutenant of Essex, a fact which had given the latter great offence, he maintaining that "an Army can hardly be well governed by two Generals."¹⁰ It is, therefore, quite clear that Landguard, at that period must have been administered by the Lieutenant of Essex.

A thousand men of the Suffolk trained bands were told off for duty at the fort, should occasion arise, and orders¹¹ were issued in September 1625, by the Earl of Suffolk,¹² to "let them be readie upon an howres warneinge."

¹ State Papers, Domestic. James I. Vol. 123, No. 101.

² For many years (circa 1580-1620) Colonel of the regiment which is now known as the Buffs.

³ Lieutenant of the Ordnance; appointed 1616.

⁴ Surveyor-General of the Ordnance; appointed 1608.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic. James I. Vol. 151, No. 89.

⁶ State Papers, Domestic. James I. Vol. 153, No. 13.

⁷ State Papers, Domestic. James I. Vol. 167, No. 22.

⁸ Robert Rich, 2nd Earl.

⁹ Robert Ratcliffe, K.G., 5th Earl.

¹⁰ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 9, No. 62.

¹¹ From the MSS. of Mr. E. R. Wodehouse, M.P. Letter-book of the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace of Suffolk, 1608-1640, p. 215. Hist. MSS. Commission. 13th Report. Appendix, Part 4.

¹² Thomas Howard, K.G., 1st Earl; appointed Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Suffolk and Cambridge in 1623. He died in 1626.

Harwich was then constantly being threatened by the Dunkirkers. It was fully expected that Landguard Fort would be attacked by them,¹ and endeavours were made to obtain brass ordnance for the fort, instead of the iron guns with which it was equipped.²

At the close of the year the following letter³ was received by the Earl of Suffolk from the Council of State:—

“After our hearty commendacions to your Lordshipp, whereas it hath pleased his Majestie to apointe our good Lord the Earle of Warwick to rayse a forte upon Langer Pointe in Suffolk within your Lordshipp’s Lieutenauncy to guard and secure that Haven. And is by our direccions to rayse and plante his Majesty’s ordinance there and to appointe a guard upon them. Wee have thought good to the end this service soe much ymportuneing the safety of that parte of ye kingdome might be the better performed to pray and require your Lordshipp in all thinges and upon all occasions to yeild your best assistance and furtherance unto ye said Earle of Warwick or such as he shall ymploye for the accomplishment of his Majesties said command and of ye direccions of this Board and alsoe that you take speciall care and accordingly give order that the Companies both Horse and Foote within your Lieutenauncie which are next adjoyneing to the said Forte be alwaies in a readines to defend the same and to give repulse to any enemy upon any sodern alarum or attempte. Thus not doubteing of your forwardnes in a worke of this nature and consequence wee bidd your Lordshipp very heartily farewell from Hampton Courte the 31 of December 1625.”

This letter probably reached the Earl on January 1 or 2, 1626, at Audley End, his seat in Essex, where he was then staying. He lost no time in issuing the necessary orders to his Deputy Lieutenants, and wrote⁴ to them in these terms:—

“Gentlemen, My Deputie Lieutenauntes in ye countie of Suffolk, and those of you especially which dwell neerest to Langer Pointe, I thincke it fitt to acquainte you with a lettere lately received from the Councell by his Majesty’s direccion, the true coppie whereof I doe send you wherby you may informe yourselves and all the rest of the Deputie Lieutenauntes by sending them coppies what is required and commanded by the lettere and I

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 18, No. 96.

² State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 19, No. 2.

³ From the MSS. of Mr. E. R. Wodehouse, M.P. Letter-book of the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace of Suffolk, 1608-1640, p. 231. Hist. MSS. Commission. 13th Report. Appendix, Part 4.

⁴ From the MSS. of Mr. E. R. Wodehouse, M.P. Letter-book of the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace of Suffolk, 1608-1640, p. 231. Hist. MSS. Commission. 13th Report. Appendix, Part 4.

must charge you all and every one of you to see yt obeyed and performed and to that end I require you eyther all in generall or soe many of you as shalbe thought fitt and convenient to wright a lettere to my Lord of Warwick to let him knowe that I have directed you to be readie to perform in every pointe ye Councell's lettere as you shall heare from him. And withall to take order for that latter parte that your Companies bothe Horse and Foote be in that readines that they maye be readie to assiste that parte of the Country upon any attempte that shalbe given and bycause I thincke I shall goe out of ye Country to London. I will leave it to your care and considerations to answer the commandment and direccions in everie pointe And soe with my good affeccions to you all I end

“Your loving friend

“*Audlie End the 4th of January 1626.*

(sd.) “T. SUFFOLKE.”

The building of the fort proceeded, and the Suffolk towns are spoken of in letters of that period as being “in a readiness, especially for guarding the fort erecting at Landguard.”¹

In May 1626, the sum of £3,302 14s. was paid to Sir Harbottle Grimstone and Richard Scott, “on accompt, for works to be done at the new Fort at Landguard Point, co. Suffolk.”² Much difficulty was apparently experienced in carrying on the work, and certain persons were reported to the Privy Council “who refused to carry timber for the Fort at Landguard.”³ In July, the Earl of Warwick petitioned the Council for “a Warrant to take fresh turf to face the new Fort at Landguard Point, and also another Warrant to treat with ships of Ipswich to lay into the Fort a chaldron of coals apiece for fire for the Guards a-nights, otherwise the King will be put to a yearly expense of 100 marks,”⁴ and later in the same year a sum of £402 was paid to the Earl of Warwick, “for the entertainment of His Majesty's Officers in the Fort at Landguard Point for 6 months to begin Sept. 9th, last past.”⁵

Meanwhile, the difficulties which existed between the Earls of Warwick and Sussex, anent the Lieutenancy of Essex, had been adjusted, and in August the Earl of Sussex was restored to that office; consequently the Earl of Warwick, who had, until then, been in charge of “the erection of fortifications” at Landguard, prayed the Council “that a survey may be taken of what he has done, so that he may not be subject to future blame:

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 19, No. 20.

² State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Appendix. May 11, 1626.

³ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 32, No. 20.

⁴ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 32, No. 62.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Appendix. Nov. 7, 1626.

and also that the Ordnance and Ammunition may be delivered up by Inventory."¹

This brings us to one of the most interesting documents that exists in connection with Landguard Fort, and I have no hesitation in reproducing it *in extenso*. It is a report,² (accompanied by a detailed survey), upon the state of the fort, then in course of building, written by Lords Colchester,³ and Maynard,⁴ and Sir Henry Carew,⁵ which was drawn up in accordance with the above-mentioned request of the Earl of Warwick, and is endorsed as follows:—

“To the right hon^{ble} our very good Lordes, the Lordes of His Majesties’ most hon^{ble} Privie Counsel this d.d.

11 October, 1626.

From the Lord Vic. Colchester, L. Maynard, and Sir Henry Carew.

Concerneinge Harwiche and Langer Point.”

The report runs thus:—

“It may please your good Lordships,

“According to an order from your Lordships the 19th of September, we have taken a viewe of the workes and fortificacions at Harwich and Lantguard Pointe, and have returned unto your Lordships a true accompt of the present state of all the particulers of those workes, whereof we have taken an exact surveye wherin although we must assure your Lordships that there appeareth to us, as well by the relacion of persons of qualitie neare adjoyn- ing to this place as by the workes themselves that ther hath beene great care and judgment used not onelie in the well husbanding and expending of the Kinges money, but also in the substantiall and exquisite workeman- shippe of the same Fortes, yet we find withall that in respect that the workes at Lantguard Pointe lie altogether unperfected they are in great danger to fall suddenlie to decay unles there be some present order taken for the finishing of them untill which tyme both His Majesties’ Ordnance and Ammunition is in some danger, and the harbour which is of great importance to be secured, and the counties adjoyneinge in little safetie, which the workemaister will undertake to finish within foure monthes. All

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 36, No. 22.

² State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 37, No. 64.

³ Thomas Darcy, of Chiche, afterwards Earl Rivers.

⁴ William, Lord Maynard of Wicklow. In 1628 became Baron Maynard of Estaines, in Essex.

⁵ Of Bickleigh.

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PLATE III.

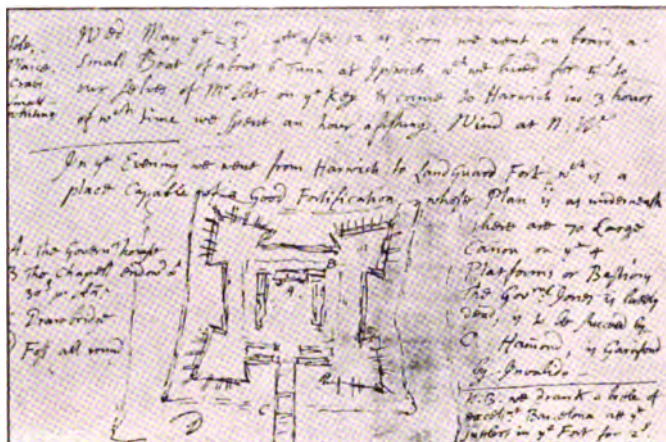


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF THE FORT—1711.

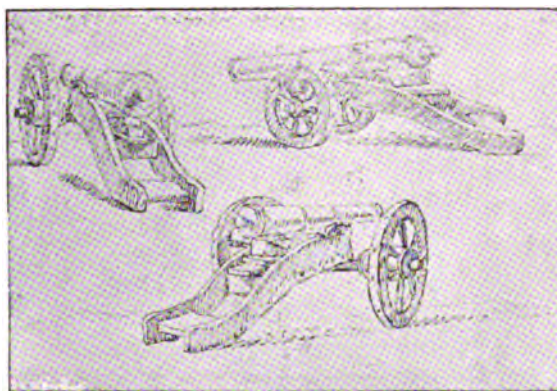


FIG. 2.—SOME GUNS IN THE FORT—1711.

which we houlde it our duty to certify your Lordships, humbly recommend-
inge the same to your honorable consideracons even restinge,

"At your Lordships command,

(sd.) "COLCHESTER. W. MAYNARD. HENRY CAREW."

From Harwich the 11th October, 1626.

"THE FORT AT LANTGUARD POYNT.

"The circuite of the whole Forte beinge 4 square with his bulwarkes
is 164 rodd 4 foote.

There are 4 curtaines¹ everie one of them 12 rodde 9 foote in length
at 12 foote to the rodde.

The face of every bulwarke is 12 rodd in length.

The flancke 3 rodd 2 foote in length.

The curtaine is now 11 foote high within the worke, and to perfect it
the Workemaister intendes to make it 7 foote higher.

One of the Bulwarkes is alreadie raised to 11 foote high, and above
without, but is not fullie squared within and is to be raised according to
the curtaine.

Another Bulwarke is raised 7 foote and a halfe.

A third Bulwarke is neare 7 foote high.

The fourth Bulwarke hath earth alreadie brought up to make it 6 foote
high, but is not turfed.

The curtaine towards the channell is at the foote 3 rodd 8 foote broad.

The high of the rampier² of the same Curtaine within is 6 foote.

The breadth of the same rampier is 32 foote.

The breadth of the parapett³ at the grownd is 17 foote.

The high of the parapett is 6 foote.

The breadth at the topp is 12 foote.

The foote bancke⁴ 3 foote broad 1 foot high.

The other three curtaines 30 foote broad at the grownd 6 foote high;
the rampier 21 foote broad; the parapett 11 foote broad at the grownd,
6 foote high, 6 foote broad at the topp.⁵

The foote bancke 3 foote broad, 1 foote $\frac{1}{2}$ high.

In everie corner of the 4 square is a Batterie wheron is a platforme,
whereof 2 towards the channell are 36 foote square, 9 foote high, and

¹ A term used in fortification to denote that portion of the rampart which connects the flanks of two bastions.

² Rampart—the bank upon which the parapet of a fort stands, formed chiefly of the earth excavated from the ditch.

³ The bank of earth which affords protection to the defenders of a work from the enemy's fire.

⁴ The banquette—a terrace behind the parapet, on which the defenders stand to enable them to fire over the parapet at the enemy.

⁵ These dimensions give the exterior slope as approximately $\frac{1}{2}$.

have 9 peeces of Ordinance upon them both, 2 demi-cannons of brasse, 1 sacre of brasse, 6 demi-culverings of Iron (*see* p. 15).

The 2 other platformes are 30 foote square, 9 foote high and have 6 demi-culverings of Iron upon them both.

Before the Porte¹ are two brasse peices, the one a Fowler, the other a Port peice, with two brasse Chambers to eich of them.

The floore of the Porte is 30 foote in length, 10 foote high, 10 foote broade with two doores all of Timber.

The ditch is so deepe as the earth that hath made the Forte hath beene brought out of it, but is unfinished and the Workemaister intendes to make it 60 foote broad and 12 foote deepe.

The first built howse where now the souldyers lye which is intended for the Magazine is built of bricke and tymber, and is 51 foote longe, and 21 foote broade, and hath in it 12 rooms.

Ther is another howse built all of bricke, being a bricke and a halfe thicke which is 115 foote longe, 24 foote broade, in hight 10 foote, and hath in it 40 severall chambers for Lodgeinges for souldyers, everie one 11 foote broad and 12 foote longe, and 20 of the roomes have Chimnies.

There is also alreadie built one powder house all vaulted with bricke very substantiall 12 foote high, 18 foote longe, 14 foote wide.

There is an aqueduct of very good sweet water with a Conduit house of bricke, the water is brought in leaden pipes a mile and halfe of the howse² unto the ditch side and cannot be finished until the draw-bridge be sett up, but the pipes of leade lye readie to finish it.

We finde by the plott an intencon to build within the forte such another rowe of huttes as is alreadie builte, a Chappell, a house for the Captaine, a Court of Guard,³ a second powder house, a drawe bridge, and a great Cisterne, and a posterne.⁴

There are alreadie two Centry houses builte, and three more are intended to be builte.

We finde there great store of bricke and tile, by Computacon enough to finish the worke, and also good store of lime, and some Timber. We also find there good store of powder bulletes and other amunition which by your Lordships order the Earle of Warwicke is to deliver up by indenture.

Upon the finishing of the forte the porte is intended to be enlarged 24 foote in length with a Percullis.⁵

¹ The gateway.

² From Walton, just as the present water supply.

³ Is our present Quarter-guard a corruption of this?

⁴ A tunnel, leading from the inside of a fort through the wall into the ditch in front.

⁵ Portcullis.

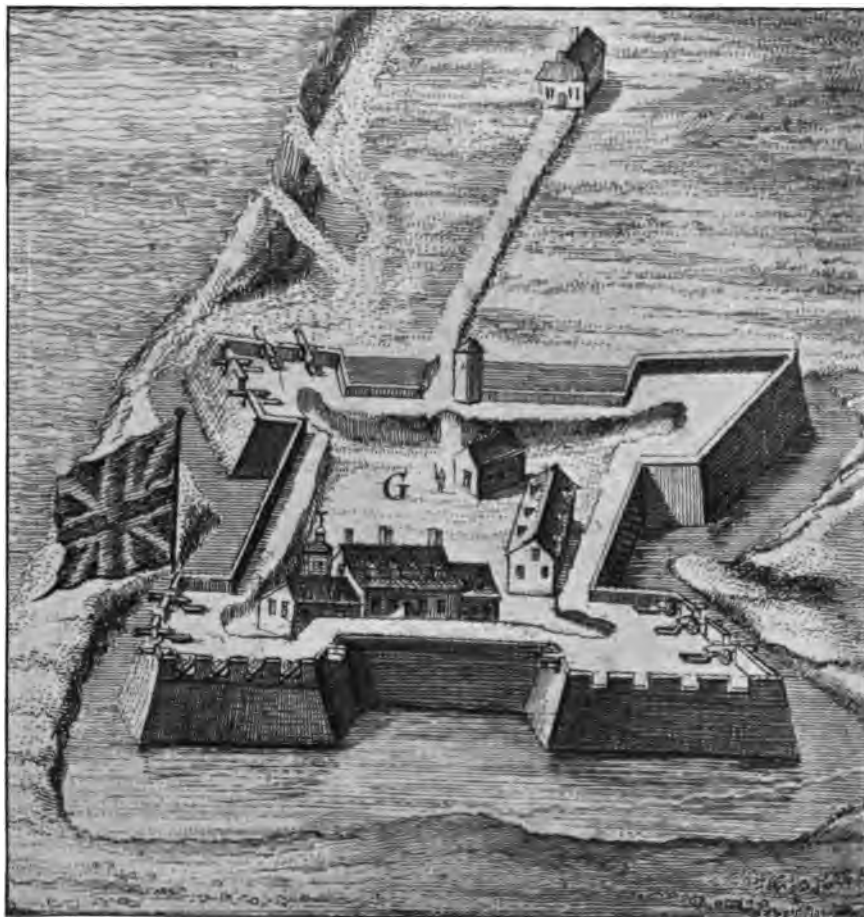
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PLATE IV.



THE FORT OF 1626, ENLARGED FROM A PORTION OF PLATE II.

[To face p. 15.

We did see 33 Muskietiers very proper and able bodied men exercise there, and 3 sicke, in their beddes, besides the Officers and Canoniers.

The Channell lyes from the said forte of Lantguard pointe within 100 rodd."

(sd.) "COLCHESTER. W. MAYNARD. HENRY CAREW."

This is a wonderfully accurate and interesting description of what may be termed the first Fort proper, which according to the survey was only an earth-work. It remained standing for nearly a hundred years, being pulled down, and entirely rebuilt, almost upon the same site, in 1716.

A rough pen and ink plan of it is given (*plate 3*, fig. 1), taken from a manuscript diary, of which more anon, kept by a certain Sir James Thornhill, who visited Landguard in 1711.

Another view of this fort is given in *plate 4*, which is an enlargement a portion of *plate 2* (q.v.). *Plate 2* is taken from a print which occurs in a series of views, chiefly engraved by John Kip, issued in 1724 under the title "Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne." This print was dedicated to "Henry, Lord Viscount, Bullingbrook, one of Her Maj^{ties} ¹ Principall Secretaries of State," and the date of its original publication can thus be fixed as 1712-1714, for Henry St. John, who was Secretary of State from 1710 to 1714, was not created Viscount Bolingbroke until July 7, 1712. As the fort was not rebuilt until the year 1716, this picture must, of course, be that of the 1626 building, and it coincides in almost every detail with Thornhill's sketch made in 1711.

Dale, who published Taylor's "History of Harwich," before-mentioned, in 1730, describes this fort in an editorial note as "a handsome square Fortification consisting of four Bastions,² viz. at each Corner one, mounted with divers Guns, those towards the Sea being the largest: the Entrance into it was over a Draw-Bridge, thro' a Gate, over which was their Magazine; fronting the Gate was a handsome Brick Building, in which the Governor, when he was there, resided: Adjoining to the South End of which was a neat Chapel, in which the Chaplain read Prayers twice a week, and preached a Sermon on the Sunday. On each Side of the Parade was a double Row of Brick Barracks, each containing eight, those on the right Hand being for the Habitations of the Deputy-Governor, Master Gunner, and the Quarter Gunners; and those on the left for a Sutling-House,³ and the rest for Lodgings for the Garrison; between these last and the Gate was the Guard Room, for those upon Duty."

¹ Queen Anne.

² A projection of the parapet so contrived as to sweep with its fire the ditches of other parts of the work, while its own ditch is reached by the fire from those other parts.

³ Where the sutler lived. Sutler—a person who follows an army, and sells provisions, liquors, &c., to the troops.

It was this fort of 1626 by which the Dutch were beaten off in 1667, after they had successfully attacked both Sheerness and Chatham, and it was this fort that had for its Governors, at various times, some of the most celebrated and distinguished men of those days. In this fort, too, Captain Richard Steele (afterwards Sir Richard, Author and Essayist) commanded a company in the days when he was in the army. All these matters will be again referred to further on.

In the same year, 1626, the fort was armed, and a sum of £2000-0 *per annum* was allotted for the payment and maintenance thereof.¹

At that time it was the practice on appointing a governor to a fort, to issue a special commission under the Great Seal appointing commissioners to take an inventory or "remain" of all the implements of war in that particular fortress. The governor then entered into articles of agreement with the State, covenanting that in consideration of the armour, ammunition, provision, officers, soldiers, gunners, and artificers, according to an inventory annexed to the indenture, and in further consideration of his being supplied with money to pay the garrison, he would "defend and keep the same for His Highness and the State, against all traitors, and enemies whatsoever."

The armament of the fort of 1626 was as follows¹:—

Brasse Ordinance.	{	Demy Canons	2	}	14	} 43 peeces of Ordinance.	
		Demy Culverins	2				
		Sakers	6				
		Portpeeeces, with 4 chambers	2				
		Fowlers, with 4 chambers	2				
Iron Ordinance.	{	Culverins	14	}	29		
		Demy Culverins	15				
Shot of al sortes			1563.				
Corne Powder 8 lastes ½			204	barrelles.			
Match			6 tun."				

In the year 1627 the following guns, &c., were added¹:—

" Brass	{ Basilisk	1	} 19 peeces of Ordinance of fine mettles.
Ordinance	{ Culverins out of the <i>St. Esprit</i> ^a	6	
Iron	{ Culverins	8	
Ordinance	{ Saker Drakes	4	
	Shott of all sortes	2950.	
	Corne Powder 3 lastes	72 barrells.	

The totall some of this last proportion cometh to £1,739 19s. 1d."

The number of guns in the fort, therefore, was 62.

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 94, No. 33.

² A prize ship of 800 tons, carrying 42 guns, recently captured from the French in the Texel; it was re-named "The Holy Ghost."

A few details about the different pieces of ordnance with which the fort was armed may not be uninteresting. The following table gives the principal characteristics of the various guns.

Name of gun.	Diameter of bore.	Length of gun.	Weight of gun.	Weight of shot.	Charge of powder.	Length of the ladles.
	inches.	feet.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	inches.
Basilisk - - -	8.75	13	9000	60	30	21
Demy Canon -	6	11	6000	36	14.5	21
Culverin - - -	5.5	11	4500	18	12	20
Demy-culverin -	4.5	10	2500	10	8	18
Saker - - - -	3.5	10	1500	5	5	16
Saker Drake -	3.5	5	1200	3	2	4.5

Besides these guns there were the Port Pieces, and the Fowlers, with 2, or 4 chambers each.

From very early times, all artillery guns had been named after birds of prey, and venomous serpents—possibly on account of their destructive propensities.

Among the heavier pieces were the Basilisk, and the Culverin, and among the lighter, the Falcon, the Saker (or Sacre), and the Saker Drake.

The basilisk was a fabulous beast—a sort of dragon. The word culverin is derived from the Latin *coluber*—a serpent. Annandale's dictionary defines a culverin as "a long, slender piece of artillery, serving to carry a ball to a great distance." The saker takes its name from a species of falcon (*French, Sacre*), and the saker drake from the male bird of the same species, the latter being the smaller saker piece of ordnance.

Among eagles, falcons, hawks, and all birds of that class, the male is always smaller than the female.

The ladles¹ mentioned in the last column of the table require, perhaps, some explanation. They were used in the operation of loading guns, which was carried out as follows. The gun was first sponged out; the charge of powder was then taken loose from the powder barrel with the ladle, which was made of brass, with a long handle. The ladle was then, with the powder in it, pushed to the end of the bore, and inverted, in order to pour out the powder: a wad of "hay, grasse, weedes, okham, or such like" was next rammed home; then the shot; and lastly another wad as before. Cartridges of linen or paper were sometimes used.

¹ Ladles were in use at Landguard in 1853.

A drawing of some of the guns in the fort is given (*plate 3, fig. 2*) from Sir James Thornhill's diary (1711).

Kirby's "*Suffolk Traveller*"¹ tells us that the four bastions of this fort were called "The King's, the Queen's, Warwick's, and Holland's," and that there were 15 very large guns on each of them.

The titles "King's" and "Holland's" continue attached to two of the bastions at the present day, though in the case of the latter the final S has been dropped—a gentle act of vandalism on the part of the Royal Engineers, committed, possibly, to save paint! The armament returns, however, still retain the name as "Holland's." The titles "Queen's" and "Warwick's" have disappeared from the other two bastions, and in their places now stand the names "Chapel" and "Harwich" Bastions. This is to be regretted. One can quite imagine a person, however, ignorant of the fact that the Earl of Warwick built this fort, saying, "What sense is there in calling this bastion "Warwick's?" It must be a misnomer, and, no doubt, ought to be "Harwich," as it looks towards that town." And so, it may be, has come that change of name—virtually only a change of the initial letter. The "Chapel" bastion is that nearest the site of the chapel in the fort of 1716, over the entrance gate, but it is difficult to understand why such a name should have been substituted for the original name, "Queen's." To preserve history, these two original names ought to be restored.

The existence of a chapel in the fort of 1626, however, is undoubted; its position is clearly shown in *plate 4*, and on Thornhill's sketch plan of the fort (*plate 3, fig. 1*), and in his diary (1711) he refers to it as "the old chapel there," mentions the chaplain's name, and notes a sermon preached.

In June 1627, the Council settled the establishment for the fort, and "sent down the Captaines thither."² The following table gives the establishment sanctioned in 1627, with the rate of pay *per diem* for each rank.³

" The Captaine at	10s.
The Leiftenant at	4s.
The Ensigne at	2s.
The two Sargants at	2s. for them both.
The Clarke at	1s.
The Drummer at	1s.
The Chyrurgion ⁴ at	1s.
The Ammunition Master at	1s.
The Prov. Marshall at	1s.
The Armourer at	6d."

(NOTE.—The above are all described as "Officers," as is also the Chaplain).

¹ 2nd edition, published in 1764.

² State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 68, No. 2.

³ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 254, No. 41.

⁴ Surgeon.

" The Master Gunner at	1s. 6d.
The Gunner's Mate at	1s.
Six ordinary Gunners at	8d.
57 Soldiers at	8d.
The Chaplayne at	£40—0 per annum.
Allowance for Fyering ¹ and Reperations ²	£120—0 per annum."

CHAPTER V.

FROM 1628 TO 1634.

THE first governor—appointed in March 1628—was Henry Rich, Earl of Holland (*see* p. 91).

The original warrant for his appointment³ is in the State Record Office, and is a lengthy document in Latin, dated March 7, 1628; it was, of course, merely a prelude to the issue of the actual letters patent, which are dated March 28, from which latter date it was that the appointment took effect.

The warrant concludes in English, as follows:—

"Maie it please Yo^r most ex^t Ma^{tie}

"Yo^r Ma^{tie} doth hereby graunt unto Henry Earle of Holland during life the Offices of Captayne and Governor of the Towne and Castle of Harwich in the Countye of Essex and the newe Fort of Languard Point in the Countye of Suffolk and the Collonellship of 126 men there to be conteyned together with the somme of £2027-11-8 per annum for the maintenance of himselfe and others the Officers and Soldyers there to be reteyned according to an establishment thereof signed by Yo^r Majestye to be paid out of your Excheq^r or in default thereof out of Yo^r greate Custumes.

"And is donne by Warrant under Yo^r Signe Manuell

(sd.) "RO: HEATH."⁴

It does not appear that, except during times when the country was actually at war, the governorship of the fort was necessarily held by a soldier. The governor appears to have been in ordinary times, seldom, if ever, in actual residence, and as a matter of fact, the office of governor was in time of peace virtually a sinecure.

The first lieutenant of the fort (*i.e.* the officer in military command on the spot) was Captain Robert Gosnold, whose early experience in his command seems to have been of a somewhat stormy nature, for in a letter

¹ Fuel and lighting allowance.

² Repairs, *i.e.*, barrack damages.

³ Sign Manual grants and warrants. Charles I. Vol. 26, No. 20.

⁴ Then Solicitor-General.

addressed by him from Landguard Fort, under date July 3, 1628,¹ "to the Right Honorable my singuler good Lorde the Earle of Hollande, Lord Governor of His Majesties' fortes at Landguard and Harwich," he speaks of a mutiny having taken place at the fort and complains of the misconduct of the constable of Trimley St. Mary² in setting a mutineer free when sent to him for safe custody, and conveyance to gaol. The following is an extract from his letter:—

"We have had heere of late a greate mutinye, and havinge disarmed and imprysoned some six of the Chiefest auters which afterwards seeminge to be sorrowfull for ther offence, I was willinge they should draw lottes and one of them to dye, the man it hapned upon proved to be the veriest villayne of them all, wherupon I made a Warrant and sent him to be conveyed from Constable to Constable to the Gayle to be there close prysoner, untill the Lordes of the Counsell had otherwise determined of him, but the Constable of Trymley St. Mary, in the countye of Suffolke, whose name is Nicholas Bettes, most contemptiouslye sent back my warrant and discharged the souldier, which warrant I have sent your Lordship hereinclosed. I humbly therefore intreate your Lordship ther may be some spedye corse taken with this Constable for his greate contempt otherwise we shal be subject to dayly mutenyces and the fort in danger to be disbandoned. I think it also not amis to have marshall law under the brode seale to afreyght such offenders. So having before and now at this tyme acquainted your Lordship of our necessityes levinge them to your Lordships' consideracion I rest, Your Lordships' humble Servant, RO: GOSNOLD."

One cannot help observing how the "contemptuous" conduct of the constable is insisted on as of far more importance than the mutiny itself. The warrant to the constable runs thus:—

"Suffolk. To the Keeper of the Goale at Melton.

"Whereas this person, Benjamin Dammont, have in a mutinious manner Rebelled against His Majesties' Officers at Landguard Neweforte to the great danger of the said place which might have ensued and happend by his said rebellion by him wrought, and thereby have deserved death without mercy. Theis are in His Majesties' name to will and require you safely to keep the said person to be forthcomeing at what time the Lords of His Ma^{ties} most Honorable Privie Counsell shall send for him as you will answer the contrary on your utmost perill, &c., dated under my hand at Languard Neweforte this first of July, 1628."

(sd.) "RO. GOSNOLD."

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 109, No. 18.

² In Suffolk, a village four miles from Landguard.

"To the Constables of Walton and soe from Constable to Constable alonge the direct way to Melton Goale for His Ma^{ties} Service."

Nothing more appears in the records about this mutiny. Possibly it was not found to be of so much importance as Captain Gosnold seems to have considered it.

In 1629, much yet remained to be done towards the completion of the fort, and we find recorded "a Noate of necessary Provisions wanting at Langer Forte,"¹ among which are "wheeles" for the Guns, "skins for spunges, Flaggs of the King's Coullers, Axhill Trees, Pykes, Hand-speeks," &c.

The next few years were years of peace and there is but little to record. There is, however, in the British Museum, a curious document,² which throws an amusing sidelight upon Landguard and Harwich as they were in 1634, from an entirely different and independent point of view. It is entitled:—

"A Relation of a short survey of 26 Counties observ'd in a seven weekes journey begun at the City of Norwich and from thence into the North on Monday August the 11th, 1634, and ending at the same place, by a Capitaine, a Lieutenant, and an Ancient, all three of the Military Company in Norwich." The name of the author does not appear.

It commences thus:—

"Three Southern Comaunders in their places, and of themselves and their purses, a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ancient, all voluntary Members of the Noble Military Company in Norwich agreed at an opportune, and vacant leysure, to take a view of the Cities, Castles and Cheife Scytuations in the Northerne, and other counties of England: To that end and purpose, all business and excuses set apart, they had a parley, and met on Monday the 11 of August, 1634, and mustering vp their triple force from Norwich, with soldiers' journeying ammunitiion they marcht that night to the Maritime Towne of Lyn."

It continues later, "Then did I hasten to take my ffarewell of this County³ att Langor Point, wth their new Capitaine⁴ of the ffort there, and small garrison: wth ffort: for her warlike munition, strong ffortifications, watchfull garrison, and prudential preservation, is most gallantly ordered and pruided for, at His Ma^{ties} great charge, and care."

An experience sustained in crossing the harbour to Harwich is thus quaintly described. "From thence I made haste, and by some of there helps I gott a speedy passage (though not for my horse, yet for my selfe) into the

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 159, No. 55.

² Lansdowne MSS. No. 213, fol. 315.

³ Suffolk.

⁴ Captain Sussex Cammocke.

next County,¹ over that blustering turbulent streame,² neere a league in breadth (*see frontispiece*): and after I had passd' over these tossing waves, then had I a new taske, to get a boat to fetch my Horse, for these unconscionable watermen were not only dogged, but even alsoe soe shamelesse as to demand neare an Attorney's Two-terme-ffee to serve my turns in giving waftage to my palfrey, wch unreasonable fare had I granted them would have made me quickly to have far'd but poorely having so long a journey to accomplish.

"Therefore I thought it fitter (being a stranger) to goe to the Governor of this towne³ and acquaint him herewith rather than to leave so ill a president for such as should follow me, who very curteously and suddenly provided me one at a far easier rate: but the currish disposition of these water dog'd fellowes was such as what my Purse paid not for, my Patience did, for the crossing wherof, they were crossing over, and returning, as many houres as miles.

"During the time that my horse was fetching over I had time enough to view this little Island Maritime Towne mounted on a Hill, and neere 3 quarters of it environed wth the sea, that comes in betweene her and Langer Point. I found heere 10 Peeces of Ordinance upon the wall and ffort,⁴ and as many more in another place by the key side and lying all along grouling and groaning, as if they were bed-rid and not able to hold up their heads, ever since the other over-thwart neiboring ffort⁵ (from whence I came last) began to florish: yet doth their worthy Recorder⁶ stand close their friend, as having got these poore inhabitants exempt from finding Armes, and other charges."

CHAPTER VI.

FROM 1635 TO 1638.

IN considering the general state of affairs at the period we are now approaching, viz.: 1635-1640, we must not lose sight of the fact that there was then no Parliament, Charles having dissolved his third Parliament in March 1629. The finances of the country were administered by a body known as the Commissioners of the Treasury. The King had the greatest difficulty in obtaining money. By extorting fines, under a semblance of legality; by raising ship-money, and such means, he was scarcely able to equip a fleet, much less to pay his soldiers and sailors. Small wonder then that we find the pay of the fort establishment fallen into arrear—a matter that is brought to notice on more than one occasion.

¹ Essex.

² The estuary between Landguard and Harwich.

³ Harwich.

⁴ The Circular Redoubt, Harwich.

⁵ Landguard Fort.

⁶ Sir Harbottle Grimstone.

In 1635, both the defensive and financial condition of affairs at Landguard had become desperate, and had, in truth, reached such a pitch as to call forth on June 12, the following "Remonstrance concerning Landguard Point"¹ from its governor, the Earl of Holland:—

"To the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords Commissioner for His Ma^{ties} Treasury.

"The humble declaracion of Henry, Earle of Holland, concerning the state of His Ma^{ties} Fort at Landguard Point in Suffolke.

"The great defects of the sayd fort are humbly represented in these particulars.

1. That although there be in the Fort about 40 Peeces of Ordnance yet for want of carriages they ly unmounted and by that meanes unusefull for offence of an ennemy or defence of the harbour which is conceived to be the more considerable because it is one of the best harbours uppon the East Coast, and that wherunto the Newcastle and East Country ships doe usually address themselves for succour.

2. The Moate is not yet finished nor the Counterscarfe² whereby the Fort yt selfe is left in undefensive condicion.

3. The Bulwarke and curtaynes are much decayed and without a speedy course for their reparation either the most substantiall parts of the Fort wil be neere wholly ruynated or a very excessive charge necessitated which by a seasonable provision may be much moderated.

4. The Souldyers entertayned for the defence thereof are reduced to extreame poverty, weakness, and almost nakedness, whereby they are disabled for these services which may be expected of them. And through their extreame wants they have ben forced to run into great engagements which without speedy releife will expose them to a hasard of their libertyes, or their creditours to much losse, injury and ruyne. And by these meanes their creditt is exhausted and their miseries are likely to increase they being now confined within the walles of a Fort full two miles remote from any towne,³ and soe at a great distance from any releife.

5. The cause of these great defects and miserie doth solely arise from the non-payment of that annuall allowance which His Ma^{ty} was pleased to allott for the repaying and maintenance of that Fort and Garrison, there being at this present in arreare to the Officers, gunners, and souldyers, £5600 0, for which the late Lord Treasurer⁴ hath ben from tyme to tyme sollicitted, but in regard of His Ma^{ties} other urgent occasions yt could not be yet obtained.

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 290, No. 79.

² Counterscarp. The two sides, or walls, of the ditch which surrounds a fort, are called the escarp and the counterscarp. That on the side nearest the defenders is called the escarp, and that nearest the enemy the counterscarp.

³ Walton, Suffolk, was the nearest village.

⁴ Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, K.G.; formerly Baron Weston, of Neyland in Essex.

6. Which being a matter of great importance I doe present in all humility and in faythfull discharge of my duty, and trust unto your Lordships greate wisdomes and most prudent consideracions, beseeching your Lordshipps farther to remember that theise wants have been much increased by length of tyme, and the longer they doe goe unsupplied the greater the charge will be to His Ma^{ty}."

This earnest remonstrance had, sad to say, no immediate effect, and the arrears of pay do not appear to have been dealt with at all until 1642, when they were to some extent provided for by the Long Parliament (*see* p. 26).

In May 1636, the Surveyor General of Ordnance,¹ Forts, &c., submitted an estimate² for the "needefull reparacions to bee done at His Ma^{ties} Garrison at Landguard," amounting to £2108 14. The largest item in the estimate (£1362 0) was for building a brick wall round the fort, "the earthern walles being much decayed and fawne downe in divers places (in soe much) that they may ride into the Forte, horse and man. The walle is to be 12 foote in height, and two foote in the ground, six bricks in thicknes at the base and three bricks thick at the topp." The estimate also included the supply of thirty-five field carriages, "which with Wheelles, Iron worke, and Transportacion, and Workemanshipp will cost per estimacion, £315 0."

The repairs do not appear to have been carried out, for in 1637 the same estimate³ was again submitted.

In 1636, however, an increase to the establishment of the fort⁴ was asked for, entailing an annual expenditure of £2120 0, instead of £1012 0 as theretofore. It was proposed to double the number of "soldiers," and to add a few minor officials, one of whom was to be a man "to looke to the worke and keepe the bulwarkes in reparacion" at a charge of £60 0 *per annum*, the demand for the increase being based on certain recommendations which had been previously made by Warwick.

The Earl of Holland, as governor of the fort, in submitting the proposed increase, wrote⁵ to the Commissioners of the Treasury, in tones of serious warning, and with an evidently sincere sense of urgent responsibility, as follows:—

"My Lord of Warwick desires to have a hundred soldiers and requisite officers for the defence of Landguard Forte.

His reasons are:—

1. Because every of the fower bulwarkes will require twenty, and the porte twenty at least.

¹ Captain Francis Coningsby.

² State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 322, No. 59.

³ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 357, No. 35.

⁴ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 340, No. 28.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 340, No. 30.

2. Ther can watche every night no lesse than 34, which in three nights will take up the whole hundred, it being impossible for men to live that watche more than every third night.

3. The sea two leagues out of the harbour's mouth hath of late bene sounded two dayes and a night together by a sloup either of Dunkerke or Calais, wherby it seems they intende shortly some enterprise upon it.

4. It is impossible to keepe this Forte from surprize with so fewe as fifty men for the reason first alledged.

5. The charge to His Ma^{ty} will not be much above £1000 0 a year more, and God knowes what money it might cost His Ma^{ty} to recover it if the enemy should once take it.

6. There belong more good ships to this water than to any port of England (London excepted) viz^t—to the number of 150 saile, which in winter time would all be at the enemies' discretion in case he should be Master of the Forte.

7. My Lord offers to defende it in his own person so he may have convenient warning and 100 soldiers with officers requisite allowed him, although he saithe 600 men were fewe enough to defend from a siedege.

8. The countries helpe (as my Lord Treasurer would have it) is not to be trusted unto, for they will all run away in time of need. And if he maye not have his demandes in this kinde (according to the Establishment propounded by him) he humbly desireth he may be dischargd of the Office of being Governor there."

It must be borne in mind that Warwick and Holland were brothers—the first and second sons of Robert Rich, the 1st Earl of Warwick, and that the one would naturally be influenced by the advice and suggestions of the other.

Furthermore, it is recorded that, at the end of 1637, more than seven years' wages were then still "in arreare unto the Capten of the Fort," (Holland).¹ One cannot, therefore, feel altogether surprised at his desire to be relieved of a post which the most vivid imagination can hardly have regarded as lucrative, and which under the circumstances was certainly not one of real dignity.

In the year 1638 some of the brass pieces of ordnance in the fort, viz. 4 sakers, 2 port peeces, and 2 fowlers, were replaced by iron guns,² and in the following year three "able Gunners" were removed from the fort for service in the army "in the northern parts"³—i.e., to the army then in the field against the Scots.

¹ Add. MSS., Brit. Museum. No. 33,278, fol. 13.

² State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 397, No. 66.

³ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 415, No. 81.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR.

FROM 1638 until the Restoration in 1660, the State papers record very little about Landguard; but some interesting information bearing upon its history during that period has been gleaned from the Journals of the House of Commons.

From the time of the assembly of the Long Parliament in 1640, and during the subsequent long struggle between the King and Parliament, known as the great civil war, Landguard Fort was held for the Parliament, and all through the war there is only one allusion made to any doubt regarding the allegiance of its garrison. It must be remembered, however, that Holland, though nominally with the Parliament, had royalist proclivities, which he displayed on more than one occasion, and which eventually cost him his life.

To continue the general narrative. The Government of the Country was in 1642 practically being carried on by the Parliament in London, in the absence of the King, and in June of that year the question of the arrears of pay due to the garrison of the fort was brought before a committee of both Houses, on the representations of the Earls of Holland, and of Warwick. The matter was referred to the Committee for the Navy, who found that a sum of £6919 0 was due, and directed that steps should be taken "forthwith, to satisfy £1000 0 thereof: for which the E. of Warwick¹ stands engaged: And the House will take further consideration hereafter, of the remainder, what is fit to be done thereupon."²

On July 6, £1000 0 were paid, and on the 11th a further sum of £1500 0.³ And so the long-suffering garrison at last obtained from Parliament an instalment, at least, of the heavy arrear which had been so long accumulating whilst it was under the rule of His Majesty the King.

In December the House of Commons caused the garrison to be increased, and sanctioned pay for "100 Soldiers drawn into Landguard by the Committee for the safety of the kingdom, and for 40 Soldiers as a permanent garrison."⁴

On December 21, a "Petition⁵ from the distressed Soldiers at Landguard, and a letter from Captn. Cammock to the E. of Warwick," dated December 15, "concerning the Extremities of the Soldiers of that Fort," was read to the House, and a resolution was passed that £1000 0 should "be allowed for payment to the garrison."

¹ Then Lord-Lieutenant of Norfolk and Essex,

² Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. 2, pp. 623, 625, 634, 645.

³ Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. 2, pp. 655, 664.

⁴ Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. 2, p. 878.

⁵ Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. 2, p. 898.

The Earl of Warwick was also directed to "give an account what monies have been disbursed and what the Charges for the future will come unto, for the Materials for fortifying of Langer Fort and Harwiche."

On February 23, 1643, the House ordered that the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk should both contribute "for paying of Landguard Fort."¹

On April 8, the House of Commons resolved² that "Sir Harbotle Grimston³ and Mr. Squire Bence,⁴ Members of this House, shall be forthwith sent as a Committee to Langerforte and Harwiche to inquire after the state and condition of that Fort and Town: and, if they find occasion, to take care of the Safety of the said Fort and Town: and to certify this House thereof; and that Sir Thos. Barrington do acquaint the E. of Holland herewith, and to desire his Lordship's assistance herein."

The Bailiffs of Ipswich were ordered to "be aiding and assisting the said Committee, as there be occasion," and the names of Sir Thomas Honynwood, and Mr. Nathaniel Bacon of Ipswich, were subsequently added to the committee.⁵

The affairs of the fort at this time depended so entirely upon the person, or persons, who were for the time being in power, that it is necessary, as we proceed, to follow carefully the general course of events in the country.

At this particular time the civil war was still in progress, and in February 1644, a "Committee of both Kingdomes" was appointed to control the operations of the two armies then fighting in England and in Scotland against the King.

In 1645, in consequence of rumoured disaffection in Landguard, this committee addressed the following letter,⁶ dated from Derby House, May 17, to a certain Captain Hunter:—

"We have received information that there is some practice against the Fort att Landguard Point which wee are certified off both by intelligence att home and from abroad. For the securitie thereof wee desire you forthwith to putt your selfe with fivety men into that Fort, such as you are well assured off, that that place of soe great concernment may be in safetie. Wee desire you to carry it privately as may be untill you come to putt it in execution."

A second letter,⁵ "to the Commander in Chiefe of the Forte att Landguard" was despatched on the same day, as follows:—

"Wee have received intelligence that there is some practice in hand against Landguard Fort: for the securitie thereof wee have appointed

¹ Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. 2, p. 973.

² Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. 3, pp. 38, 41.

³ Then M.P. for Harwich.

⁴ Then M.P. for Aldeburgh.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 507. Inter-regnum Committee of both Kingdoms. 20 E., pp. 246, 247.

Captayne Hunter to come into that Fort with 50 men. Wee desire you therefore to receive into that Fort the said Captayne and fivety men that the place which is of soe great consequence may be in safetie."

Captain Hunter was probably an officer of the army of the Eastern (*i.e.* Eastern Counties) Association, on whom reliance could be placed by the Government. East Anglia it may be observed, was consistent in general adherence to the cause of the Parliament all through the war.

Captain Sussex Cammocke had, until now, been in command of the troops at Landguard, and it was to him that this prospective disaffection on their part was attributed, for he was placed in confinement, and relieved of his charge. We obtain, however, his statement of the facts of the case from a petition addressed¹ by him at the time to the "Committee of both Kingdoms," which ran as follows:—

"Humbly sheweth,

That your Petitioner having had the honour to be intrusted with Lantguarde Fort did with integritie performe that truste abhorring from his soule the least thought of unfaithfulness to his dutie or disaffection to the Parliament whose service and honour is dearer to him than his life.

That uppon his being otherwise represented by some informacions to your Lordships he hath in respect thereof layen under your displeasure by some weeks close imprisonment and remaineth still divided from his family and charge. His heart nevertheles submitting with all humility to your Command therein.

That notwithstanding, out of that Justice which he oweth to his credit being of more precious value to him than any outward comfort, he begs leave (with much encouragement from your honours and Justice from your Lordships) humbly to pray

That if any scruples remain in your Lordships noble breastes concerning his fidelity and fitnes to be continued in that trust you will please putt him uppon any tryall your wisdomes shall thinke meete, to which he shall with all humility submit, or in case your Lordships be satisfied concerning him, then to vouchsafe him your favour and leave to returne to his family and former charge.

And he shall ever pray, &c."

He was, subsequently, restored to his command, as the following receipt² for pay and allowances, dated July 6, 1647, clearly proves, signed, as it is, by Cammocke himself:

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 511, No. 103.

² From the MSS. of Mr. Eliot Hodgkin.

"Received by me, Sussex Camock, Capt. of Landguard fforte in the county of Suff. of Thomas Fauconberge Esquire Receyvor Generall of the Revennue the sume of Eight hundred ffouerscore and twelve pounds two shillings and sixpence for the wages of my selfe, and the officers and Souldiers there according to the old Establishment and for repairing of the said fforte for one halfeyear ended the 26th day of June last past. By warrant from the Comittee for the said Revennue dated the sixth of July 1647. I say received."

li	s.	d.
892	2	6

(sd.) "SUSSEX CAMMOCKE."

"Languard ffort for the half-year ended at Midsomer, 1647."

In 1645, the disastrous defeat at Naseby finally broke the power of the Crown, and at the beginning of 1646, the civil war having practically come to an end, the House of Commons resolved that several "garisons should be disgarisoned, and the Works shifted and dismantled, and the Place made indefensible."¹

As regards Landguard Fort, the entry in the journal of the House (March 2, 1646) runs thus:—

"Ordered That it be referred to the Committee of the Eastern Association to consider of the Continuing or Disgarisoning of Landguard Fort: And in case they shall think fit to continue it a garison, that they do consider what number of men will be fit to be kept there: and of the payment of them."

Nothing is recorded as to the action taken in this matter, but we gather from subsequent events that Landguard was *not* "disgarisoned."

Towards the end of 1647 Cammocke was removed from his command by Lord Fairfax, and although the authorities at Ipswich endeavoured to obtain the appointment for their own nominee, a certain Captain Francis Hawys, urging "howe much it may conduce to the peace and safety of this towne to have one well knowne in that place rather than a stranger,"² they were unsuccessful, as the command was given to Colonel Thomas Rainsborough³ (or Rainborowe), who was an officer of the Train of

¹ Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. 5, pp. 102, 103.

² From the Assembly Books of the borough of Ipswich. September 17, 1647.

³ Murdered at Doncaster by Cavaliers from Pontefract, on October 29, 1648.

Fairfax's army, and had most probably been sent to Landguard in consequence of the recent rumours of disaffection on the part of the garrison—which is good evidence that Fairfax fully realised the necessity of holding the fort.

On May 24, 1648, Rainsborough addressed a letter¹ to the "Committee of Lords and Commons" directing attention to a "Distemper in the Fleet" which he urged should be "speedily repressed."

The letter continues:—"That which is the greatest motive to the Disturbance of the Seamen is that these Parts are wholly for the King." This, it may be added, was written just before the siege of Colchester was commenced.

After the siege of Colchester, which surrendered on August 28, 1648, Lord Fairfax visited the towns on the Eastern Coast, and on September 7, crossed from Harwich "to Langar Point, which is a place of great strength, and commands the mouth of the harbour into the river at Harwich, as also at Mersey Island."² The General was saluted with abundance of Ordnance; he marched on towards Ipswich that night."³

Meanwhile, the Earl of Holland had quite thrown over the parliamentary party; had placed himself at the head of an abortive royalist rising; and had been taken prisoner by the parliamentary forces in June 1648. The governorship of the fort was, of course, placed in other hands, and the governor appointed by the Parliament was Colonel Thomas Ireton—brother of the parliamentary general, Henry Ireton (*see* p. 92).

Charles I. was executed in January 1649, and, a month later, Holland met a similar fate.

CHAPTER VIII.

LANDGUARD UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH.

NOTHING about the fort is recorded in the years 1649 and 1650, but in April 1651, the House of Commons ordered "that it be referred to the Council of State to take into their consideration the Business now in debate in this House concerning Landguard Fort, and to examine the same and do thereon as they shall think fit."⁴

The "business" referred to was certain information that had been received as to a "design"⁵ upon the fort, in which a Captain Stanley and a Mr. Weston were concerned. The informant was one Thomas Coke, Esq., and he gave evidence on April 2, 1651, to the effect that "there are some soldiers now in the fort in pay by them against the time

¹ Parliamentary History of England. Vol. 17, p. 185.

² *i.e.* in the same manner as the fort commands the river Colne at Mersey Island.

³ Rushworth's Historical Collections. Part IV. Vol. 2, p. 1263.

⁴ Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. 6, p. 568.

⁵ From the MSS. of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey. Hist. MSS. Commission. 13th Report. Appendix, Part I.

of surprise to bee upon centery, but how many I cannot tell." The "design" if it existed at all, came to nothing.

In June 1652, Colonel Ireton, the governor, died, and was succeeded in the governorship by Benjamin Gifford (*see* p. 93), who, on taking over command, rendered to the Council of State the following "Account¹ of the present stores of powder, shott, and match, remayning in Landguard Forte this 14th day of June 1652.

Barrells of Powder -	-	-	92
Demy Cannon Round Shott -	-	-	200
Culverine Round Shott -	-	-	380
Demy Culverine Round Shott	-	-	470
Saker Round Shott -	-	-	270
Crossbar Shott of all sorts, about	-	-	250
Match, about three quarters of a tun."			

In the letter¹ which accompanied this statement he points out what is required in the way of stores, ammunition, &c., to render the fort efficient: and concludes, "there are likewise flaggs wanting very much, but being things but of ornament not strength, I leave it to your Honors, only adding that those thinges give testimony of the side wee holde too, though none of our abillities to defend that side."

In 1653 the Council of State ordered² the two old forts at Harwich to be demolished "by the souldiers now in Langerforth and the guns being in those Forts removed unto the Fort called Langer Point, and the Governor of Langerdfort is to take care that the same be done accordingly."

In 1655 the Council of State passed these orders³ relative to a proposed increase of establishment of the fort.

"On reading a Report from Commissary General Whalley and others of the Committee of Officers in pursuance of the Councille reference upon the humble proposals of Captaine Benjamyn Gifford Governour of Landguard Fort:

"Ordered by His Highnes the Lord Protector and the Councill, that there bee allowed upon the Establishment of the Army for the use of that Garrison, one chaplain at the paye of fower shillings per diem and two boatmen at the paye of twelve pence per diem to each. And that from henceforth the said Garrison be obliged to retaine but Ten Penconers,⁴ and those such as are able to doe duty there. And the Committee of the of the Army are hereby impowered and required to issue their warrants for payement of the said Chaplaine and boatmen accordingly."

¹ State Papers, Domestic, of 1652. Vol. 24, No. 41.

² State Papers, Domestic, of 1653. Council of State Order Book I., 70.

³ State Papers, Domestic, of the year 1655. Council of State Day's Proceedings. I., 76. September 28.

⁴ Pensioners.

Gifford ceased to be governor at about this time, for at the commencement of the year 1656 we find a Major Mathew Cadwel holding the appointment (*see* p. 93).

The ruinous state of the fort, and the pitiable condition of its garrison was again brought to notice, and on February 16, 1656, the Council of State passed these orders.¹

"Whereas the Councill was this day enformed that the Fort at Lantguard Poynt in Suffolk, being very serviceable to the securitie of Harwich Harbour, is much decayed and ruined, and that the company appoynted for Guard thereof are most of them quartered in the country for want of bedding. Ordered that the same be speedily surveyd in order to its repair and that (*name omitted in original*) doe cause the same to be surveyd accordingly and returne to the Councill an Estimate of the charge. And it is offered to His Highnes as the advise of the Councill that His Highnes will please to issue his Warrant to the Commissioners of His Highnes' Treasury for empowering and requiring them out of such moneys as are or shall come into the receipt of His Highness Exchequer to satisfy and pay to Major Mathew Cadwel, the present Governor of the said Fort, the somme of £200 0 on accompt in part of the charge of the said repayre and for buying of bedding for the Souldyers belonging to the said Fort."

On July 4, 1659, the House of Commons (Cromwell having died in 1658) appointed² Colonel Humphrey Brewster to be governor of the fort, and nine days later, "the House being informed, That divers officers of the Army were at the door, They were called in; And coming to the Clerk's Table in usual manner, Mr. Speaker acquainted them with the great trust the Parliament reposed in them: and that the Parliament do expect faithfulness from them to the Parliament and Commonwealth of England: And thereupon delivered to them their Commissions."³

Amongst those officers, Humphrey Brewster (*see* p. 94) received his commission "to be Governor of Landguard Fort."

A document⁴ in the British Museum gives the establishment of the fort in the year 1659 as follows:—

A Governor; Preacher; Marshal and Store-keeper; a Gunner; a Gunner's mate; 2 mattrosses,⁵ each at 10d.; 2 Boatmen, each at 12d.; and one Company of foot.

¹ State Papers, Domestic, 1656. Council of State Proceedings. I., 77.

² Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. 7, p. 704.

³ Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. 7, p. 715.

⁴ Harleian MSS., Brit. Museum. No. 6844, fol. 188.

⁵ Mattross—A soldier, next in rank below the gunner, in the train of artillery, who acted as a kind of assistant or mate. They carried a half-pike, and a hanger, and marched with the store waggons, both as a guard, and to help in case of a break-down. Their dress was a striped jacket and breeches, blue stockings, and leather cap.

The Company of foot consisted of:—

A Captain at 8s. (who was to be Governor).

A Lieutenant at 4s.

Two serjeants, each at 18d.

Two corporals, and 1 drum, each at 12d.

Sixty soldiers, each at 8d.

The Commonwealth was now tottering to its fall, and the Restoration approaching. Charles II. landed in England on May 29, 1660.

As a matter of course, nearly the whole of the government appointments were then re-arranged and re-distributed.

The Earl of Warwick was made governor of Landguard; Colonel Henry Farr, lieutenant; and George Salwyn, ensign.

This Earl of Warwick (*see* p. 94) is not the Earl of whom such frequent mention has been made in the course of the previous narrative, but his 2nd Son, Charles Rich, the 4th Earl—whose elder brother, Robert Rich, the 3rd Earl, had died in 1659.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RESTORATION AND THE DUTCH WAR.

WE now approach a particularly interesting and very important period in the history of this fort, embracing as it does the Dutch War of 1665-1667.

At the commencement of the reign of Charles II., the position of the naval and military forces of the Kingdom was by no means satisfactory; the financial condition of the country was much disturbed, and the new King apparently caring but little what might happen, so long as he continued to be furnished with sufficient means to enable him to carry out his own designs and to pay for the pleasures of his court, gave the affairs of the navy, the army, and the defences of the country generally, but scant consideration.

The first incident recorded in connection with Landguard, after the appointment of a new governor for the fort, is the presentation of a petition¹ to the King by "Thomas Blagge, Esq." alleging that he (Blagge) had been "by letters pattents under the greate seale of England, constituted Governor of the fort called Langer point in the county of Suffolke in the yeare of our Lord, 1642, into which government hee is informed the Lord Generall in his absence hath admitted the Earle of Warwick," and praying that he may "be admitted to the free exercise of the said government and trust according to the tenor thearof," &c.

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 25, No. 81.

Colonel Thomas Blagge, third son of Ambrose Blagge, of Little Horningsherth (now called Horringer) in Suffolk, had commanded a regiment of foot in the Royal army, and had distinguished himself in the defence of Wallingford Castle¹ during the civil war. He accompanied Charles II. into exile, and became Lieut. Colonel of the regiment of Guards, which was raised by him while in Holland.² He had, possibly, served as captain of Landguard Fort in 1642, but certainly not as governor. It appears, however, that some action was taken upon his petition, for a commission to hold office at Landguard, probably as deputy-governor, was issued to him on July 12, 1660, by General Monk.³ Colonel Blagge died in the following November,⁴ and was buried with honour in Westminster Abbey.

In 1661 the question of the pay of the garrison was again brought before the Council "at the Court of Whitehall, 31st May, 1661." The record⁵ runs: "It is ordered that Sir William Compton,⁶ should consider of the accompt herewith sent for supply of Landguard Fort, and to make his Report thereof, that such further Order may be given thereupon as shall be fitt."

The result of this was that early in 1662 a warrant⁷ was issued by order of the King, setting forth the rate of pay of the fort garrison, and authorising its disbursement, which shows that the King's intentions, at least, were well meant. The warrant runs thus:—

"After my hearty comendacons Whereas by his Ma^{ties} Letters of privy seale beareing date the 28th day of February last past made for the pay of the Garrison of the Fort at Landguard pointe, I am directed out of his Ma^{ties} treasure remaining in the Excheq^r to pay unto Charles Earle of Warwick or to his assignes the sume of Two thousand fforty six pounds, twelve shillings and four pence in full sattisfaction of the Officers, souldiers, and other charges of the said Garrison from the time of their entring into his Ma^{ties} service the ninth day of January 1660, inclusive, being soe much certified to be due unto them by S^r Thomas Clarges Comissary Generall of the Musters, As likewise from the said 23th day of March instant inclusive to pay unto him, or to his assignes, for the pay of the said Garrison according to the Establishment, the monthly sume of One hundred thirty one pounds, two shillings, eight pence, accompting twenty eight daies to every moneth. These are therefore to will and pray you to draw an order for payment of the said sume of two thousand forty six

¹ In Berkshire. Surrendered to the parliamentary forces (Sir T. Fairfax) on July 27, 1646.

² From the MSS. of Mr. Eliot Hodgkin. Part 4, Papers relating to Charles II. in exile. Hist. MSS. Commission, 15th Report. Appendix, Part 2.

³ From the MSS. of Worcester College library, Oxford, fol. 53.

⁴ Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers, 1876.

⁵ Ordnance Warrant Book, Vol. 3, p. 18.

⁶ Master General of the Ordnance, 1660-1664.

⁷ From the MSS. of Mr. Eliot Hodgkin.

pounds, twelve shillings, four pence, unto the said Earle of Warwick, or to his assignes, As likewise from time to time to draw orders for payment of the monthly sume of One hundred thirty one pounds, two shillings eight pence, from the said 23th of March instant inclusive accompting twenty eight daies to every month untill further order, provided that before the said monthly sume of one hundred thirty one pounds, two shillings, eight pence from the said 23th day of March be paid, certificate be from time to time produced to you from S^r Thomas Clarges or his deputy that such numbers of souldiers according to the Establishment have bin really in his Ma^{ties} service in the said Garrison each month, for which they are to receive pay. And for soe doing this shalbe your warrant given at Southampton house the 31th day of March 1662."

(sd.) "T. SOUTHAMPTON."¹

"To S^r Robert Pye, Kn^t., Auditor of his Ma^{ties} Receipt of Excheq^r and other Officers of the said receipt whom this concerneth."

Unfortunately for the troops of the garrison these intentions were not carried out, and the following petition² to the King, later in 1662, shows that their condition was not an enviable one.

"To the King's most Excellent Majestie.

"The humble Petition of Coll. Henry Farr the present Governer (under the Right Hon^{ble} the Earle of Warwick) of your Ma^{ties} Garrison of Langard Poynt in Suffolke in the behalfe of himselfe and of the Officers and soldiers in the said Garrison.

"In all humility sheweth

"That there is in the said Garrison 12 Officers and 100 Soldiers whoe for many weekes past have lived upon Rye bread and the poorest sort of Suffolke Cheese, being for want of bedding (which they have not for above 20) forced to lye on the boards in the Court of Guard, their hutts being so cold as not to be endured, and many of them are now thereby and by their great wante very sick and likely to perish, there being twelve months pay amounting to £1573 12 0 now in arreare to the said Garrison. And your Petitioner hath disbursed of his own money £600 0 towards the supply of the said souldiers in their pressing necessities and suffered in his estate and person for his loyalty towards your Ma^{ty} and your Ma^{ties} Royall father of ever blessed memory.

"The premisses considered your Petitioner humbly prayeth that your Ma^{ty} wilbe gratusly pleased to graunt a Warrant for a Privie Seale for the said £1573 12 0 in arreare to the said Garrison and that for the future

¹ Thomas Wriothesley, 4th Earl of Southampton, Lord Treasurer of England.

² State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 48, No. 61.

they may have bedding and accomodacons to keep them in a more healthful condicon and better ability to perform your Ma^{ties} service."

At the end of the year, the garrison was increased by a company of the King's regiment of Guards,¹ under the command of Major Carey, on its first arrival in England from the Continent. That this increase to the garrison did not improve the state of affairs is made very clear by another petition² dated May 14, 1663, addressed by the long-suffering men of Colonel Farr's company to their own commanding officer. It was as follows:—

"S^r

"ffindinge that the late peticon to the Earle of Warwicke produced noe better effect for the Releife of our suffringes wee Are forced by necessity it selfe to send this sad and Last Remonstrance to yo^a. Wee are very sensible that the subsistance wee have hitherto had was from yo^r selfe, and the credit of the Suttler (except seven months pay) since you had this Command. Wee really believe yo^a are out of purse above one Thousand pounds and wee are assured that the Suttler wants not Hundreds of that sume we will not p^r sume to judge how longe yo^a are able to continue yo^r keeping of us alive, but we certenly knowe the Suttler cannot contribute to it any longer. Let it not therefore be thought any breach of o^r loyalty if we begge of yo^a to make it knowne to the Kinge that he hath none more ffaithful to him then wee, nor any that would more redily sacrifice o^r lives for him in any active service, but it is against humanity it selfe to perish by a languishinge famine and the reall truth is (S^r) if we have not a very speedy releife both Officers and Soldiers must quit the ffortt and cast o^r selves at his Ma^{ties} fleette to receive his sentence of lyfe or death, the last of which will be farr more welcome to us then to perish one after another by the worst of death, Hunger. We shall add noe more but this protestacon, that wee are his Ma^{ties} most ffaithfull subjects and soldiers and

S^r yo^r humble thankfull servants."

"Landguard ffortt, this 14th of May, 1663."

The petition is signed by "Fran. Widdrington, Ensigne," and 82 others, and is endorsed "Colonell Farre his Pet^{on}, read the 24 June. Assign^t out of the first Chimney Money." Chimney money, or hearth money, was a crown tax payable on every fire-place in a house, imposed early in 1663, and yielding £200,000 a year. This assignment to the garrison must therefore, have been one of the earliest purposes to which the tax was applied. The tax was abolished in 1689; imposed again later, and again abolished.

¹ Now the Grenadier Guards. This regiment was raised in Flanders by Lord Wentworth, in 1656, under the orders of Charles II., who was then residing there.

² From the MSS. of Mr. Eliot Hodgkin. Part 10, Miscellaneous papers. Hist. MSS. Commission, 15th Report. Appendix, Part 2.

On October 3, 1663, the company of the Guards was moved to Berwick and about the same time the Duke of Albemarle issued orders that the fort should be dismantled.

The Master General of the Ordnance,¹ however, strongly protested against this disarmament, in the following memorandum² :—

“That whereas there is a Warrant from the L. Generall³ for the slighting of Land-guard Fort, and fetching off all the Artillery and Stores therein, Wee humbly conceive it not safe for the officers of the Ordnance to pursue that Warrant, without some further Authority from His Ma^{ties}, that Fort haveing beene Erected upon great consideration, and allwaies rendred of great Importance.”

Fortunately this wise advice prevailed, and on May 20, 1664, we find that at the Court at Whitehall :—

“The Right Hon^{ble} the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Generall of his Ma^{ties} Forces, &c. This day presented to his Ma^{ties} in Council a Memoriall for the better fortifying of Landguard Fort, with the number and nature of Gunns to be supplied, viz^t: Whole Culverins Six, Demi-Culverins Twelve, Minyons⁴ Two. It was thereupon Ordered that the Cheife Officers of his Ma^{ties} Ordnance do forthwith take care for supplying the said Fort with the Gunns before mentioned, together with Carriages and all other like Equipage and necessarys thereunto belonging, and to prepare and present to this board an Estimate of the charge thereof.”⁵

On November 16, Colonel Henry Farr⁶ (*see* p. 95) was appointed governor of the fort, and captain of a company, and Edward Suckley, jun., was appointed lieutenant.

On the same date a new establishment for the fort was sanctioned by the Council, consisting of “one hundred soldiers besides Commission Officers,” viz. :—

	£	s.	d.	Per diem.	Per mensem.	Per annum.
Captaine to be Governor	-	0	8	0		
Lievtennant - - -	-	0	4	0		
Two Sarjeants each 18d.	-	0	3	0		
Three Corporalls each 12d.	-	0	3	0		
One Drummer - - -	-	0	0	10	£ s. d. 4 4 6	£ s. d. 118 16 0
Nynety one Soldiers each 8d.	-	3	0	8		£ s. d. 1537 18 0
One Gunner - - -	-	0	1	6		
Three matrosses each 10d.	-	0	2	6		
Fire and candles for Guards	-	0	1	0		

¹ Sir William Compton.

² State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 88, No. 91.

³ The Duke of Albemarle.

⁴ A piece of ordnance, somewhat smaller than the demi-culverin.

⁵ Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 3, p. 64.

⁶ War Office Commission Book, 1660 to 1684, p. 43.

This document¹ is signed by the Duke of Albemarle (General George Monk).

Consequent upon this increase of establishment, the issue of 36 pikes, 40 muskets, and 30 beds, additional, was sanctioned for the fort.²

During the next eight years the governorship changed hands four times, and seems to have been conferred upon the officer who was, for the time being, in actual military command—a course which was probably found desirable so long as an attack upon the fort and neighbouring coast was threatened.

Early in 1665 England declared war against the Dutch, and the Earl of Suffolk³ (*see* p. 96), then Lord Lieutenant of that county, was appointed governor of Landguard Fort. In June the Dutch fleet was defeated by the Duke of York,⁴ off Lowestoft, but for the rest of the year little was done, the movements of the English fleet being greatly hampered by the effects of the plague, then raging in London.

In January 1666, France declared war against England, our country being thus simultaneously at war with both France and Holland, and the Dutch, burning to avenge their defeat at Lowestoft in the previous year, began cruising around our coasts as soon as the spring arrived.

In June 1666, a letter,⁵ addressed by the Council of State to the governors of all forts, Landguard among them, conveyed the King's orders to them "to use all industry to have their works repaired, fortified, and victualled for two months, and to fill up the allotted number of soldiers," danger of a sudden invasion being apprehended; and in the same month a military force consisting of two companies (300 strong) of the Lord High Admiral's regiment,⁶ (Sir Charles Lyttelton's and Colonel John Legge's), with the Earl of Oxford's⁷ troop of horse, arrived at the fort⁸ for duty, from Sudbury; the troop of horse being ordered to encamp within two miles of the fort—in all probability on the high ground by Walton.

The special war correspondent of the period in that locality was Lieutenant Edward Suckley, above-mentioned, and most of his despatches appear to have been addressed to Mr. James Hickes, senior clerk at the Post Office, in London.

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 116, No. 23.

² Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 3, pp. 83, 84.

³ James Howard, 3rd Earl.

⁴ Afterwards James II.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 159. Entry Book 14, pp. 98, 99.

⁶ Now the Royal Marines.

⁷ Aubrey de Vere, K.G., 20th Earl.

⁸ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 160, Nos. 56, 64, and 112.

In July, the Dutch fleet of 100 sail anchored in the Gunfleet,¹ and Suckley wrote that he had fired a culverin at one of their sloops which came within gun-shot, and "would have sunk her but for the dark."² On July 4 he wrote that "great guns have gone off very thick but the event is not known."³ There does not, however, seem to have been on that occasion any actual fight worthy of record in detail, but a letter,⁴ written on the 5th, dated from Ipswich, states that "30 of de Ruyter's men in his boat landed on the marshes about Bardsey⁵ for fresh meat for their general, but boat and men were all taken as was some wine going to him."

Suckley gives an amusing account in the following letter⁶ dated July 14, of some gentlemen who sailed out to see the Dutch fleet riding at anchor, and who nearly came to grief as a result of their excursion. The letter is addressed to James Hickes.

"The Dutch are exercising their men; the English fleet intends to be with them on Monday or Tuesday. A great store of gentlemen went out to take a view of the Dutch fleet; when 1½ leagues off, a small vessel was sent to attack them; the gentlemen's hearts failed, and they desired the master to make all the sail he could and get away: he refused, saying he should be hanged when he came back: they mutinied and threatened to cut his throat: they told him their lives were of more value than his, two of them being knights, and promised him a piece of plate if he would return, which they have performed, he coming back after firing a few guns; had not their hearts failed, the English vessel would have brought in the other."

The idea of an excursion steamer now-a-days making a pleasure trip to view an enemy's blockading fleet is distinctly enterprising, to say the least.

On June 30, orders⁷ were issued by the Council of State "that the Plateformes of Landguard Fort be viewed and repaired," and two days later the Officers of the Ordnance were ordered⁸ to "take speedy and effectual care to provide Pallisados from Ipswich or Harwich or anywhere else, to be sent with all convenient speed to his Ma^{ties} Fort at Landguard Point for defence thereof."

This was, undoubtedly, an anxious and exciting time for the garrison

¹ The Gunfleet is an extensive sand-bank about 11 miles long, parallel to, and about two miles distant from the Essex coast; the N. end of the Gunfleet lies abreast of the Naze. The anchorage is to the N.W. of the sand-bank.

² State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 161, No. 36.

³ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 161, No. 82.

⁴ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 161, No. 94.

⁵ Bawdsey.

⁶ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 162, No. 144.

⁷ Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 3, p. 107.

⁸ Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 3, p. 112.

of the fort, and on July 7, the governor, the Earl of Suffolk, visited Landguard and ordered certain repairs to be carried out.¹

On July 21, the following orders² were issued from St. James's by the Duke of York to Sir William Penn, who was at that time Chief Commissioner of the Navy, and the Duke of York's right hand man.

"Additional instructions. In case you shall judge it necessary that any land soldiers be sent to the fleet or put on board any of the ships, you are hereby authorised to direct such number of fort soldiers as you shall judge convenient, to be drawn out of 'Langor' fort or any companies at Harwich or thereabouts, not being of the country militia, and put them on board such ships as you shall think fit, provided you leave eighty soldiers at 'Langor' fort."

In compliance with these orders, Sir Charles Lyttelton's and Colonel Legge's companies "went on board the fleet at Landguard Fort the 22nd in the afternoon with 40 of Colonel Farr's men."³ It may be mentioned, too, that several detachments of the Foot Guards served afloat during this naval war.

On July 25 and 26, the English and Dutch fleets were in conflict off the North Foreland, the engagement resulting in the defeat of the Dutch, who were driven back to the coast of Holland. The firing of the guns during this action was heard at Landguard.⁴ One enthusiast wrote at the time that off Yarmouth he heard "very great shooting, which made his ship bounce as if struck aground,"⁵ whilst another said, "I do think our Fleet will bang the Dutch to some purpose, of which I pray God Almighty they may."⁶ A salute was fired from Harwich in honour of the victory, "to show their sense of this mercy,"⁷ and at Ipswich, the Earl of Suffolk ordered "bonfires, guns, and bells."⁸

After the action the fleet returned to port and disembarked the two companies, which at once proceeded to Sudbury to recruit, "for most of their men went aboard the ships before last fight."⁹ They had probably sustained many casualties in the action, which thus necessitated immediate recruiting to fill up the vacancies.

This victory of the fleet did not, however, allay to any great extent the feeling of uneasiness in the country as to further action on the part of the

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 161, No. 128.

² From the MSS. of the Duke of Portland. Vol. 2, p. 106. Hist. MSS. Commission, Report 13th. Appendix, Part 2.

³ *The Current Intelligencer*. July 1666.

⁴ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 164, Nos. 131 and 136.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 165, No. 42.

⁶ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 165, No. 48.

⁷ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 165, No. 41.

⁸ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 165, No. 107.

⁹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 167, No. 4.

Dutch, and on August 15, the Council issued orders "to cause Landguard Fort to be repaired where need requires, also a Redout¹ to be raised in such manner as shall be thought best for the defence and security of the said Fort."²

On September 8, 1666, Captain Nathaniel Darell's company, of the Lord High Admiral's regiment, marched into the fort from Sudbury,³ whither it had lately proceeded from Harwich in charge of Dutch prisoners, taken in the recent naval battle.

CHAPTER X.

PROGRESS OF THE DUTCH WAR.

AT the beginning of 1667 the Council of State, fully appreciating the gravity of the situation, ordered the fortifications at Landguard to be "finished with bricke and stone, and some outworkes made there."⁴

On January 15, Darell's company (120 strong) proceeded by sea to Yarmouth,⁵ for duty there, but in April a further change of stations took place. Colonel Farr's company marched from Landguard to Yarmouth,⁶ Captain George Cartwright's company, of the Lord High Admiral's regiment, moving into the fort from Harwich, and Captain Darell's company⁷ returning to Landguard from Yarmouth. On its arrival there, Darell (*see* p. 96) at once assumed the governorship of the fort, which had been temporarily held by Cartwright,⁸ pending his arrival.

It will be as well, perhaps, at this point to show what was the actual disposition of the troops at Harwich and Landguard in the month of May 1667, as it was by those troops that, some six weeks later, the Dutch were repulsed in their attempt on the fort.

At Harwich⁹ there were four companies of the Lord High Admiral's regiment, viz.: Sir Chichester Wrey's, Sir Charles Lyttelton's, Colonel Legge's, and Captain Edward Roscarrock's; and at Landguard, Captain Darell's, and Captain Cartwright's companies. The Suffolk trained bands, under the Earl of Suffolk, were encamped on the high ground near Walton, commanding the marshes and low ground about the fort, and the cavalry, under the Earl of Oxford, were placed upon the inner flank of the infantry, in order, doubtless, to guard against a possible landing on the Suffolk side of Orwell haven, should the enemy's ships succeed in getting past the fort.

¹ Redoubt—a small enclosed fortified work.

² Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 3, p. 131.

³ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 170, No. 158.

⁴ Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 3, p. 137.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 188, Nos. 126 and 131.

⁶ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 198, No. 69; Vol. 199, No. 40.

⁷ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 199, No. 110.

⁸ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 197, No. 20.

Here let us stop for a moment to consider the general situation of affairs at the time, and follow the course of events, so as to realise the causes which led up to the Dutch attack on Landguard Fort.

The people of England were becoming heartily tired of the Dutch war, for besides being taxed heavily to provide for the expense of it, great suffering and loss had been caused to the community by the ravages of the plague, and later by the great fire of London. Charles had in March concluded a secret treaty with the French, who had immediately afterwards begun to wage war against Spain in the Spanish Netherlands. The close proximity of this war to the Dutch frontier naturally caused the latter nation much alarm, and it is, therefore, not surprising to find that the Dutch soon became quite as desirous as were the English to see peace once more restored. Consequently there was no delay in opening negotiations, and a conference was held at Breda to discuss terms for a peace between England and Holland.

But whilst negotiations for peace were actually proceeding, and when they were in effect well advanced, the Dutch leader, de Witt, resolved to carry into execution a daring plan he had formed for entering the Thames—an enterprise which was rendered all the easier by reason that the King, acting on the supposition that peace would shortly be concluded, had dismissed a large number of sailors, and to a great extent dismantled the fleet, in order to save money for expenditure upon his own extravagances, thus most heedlessly weakening the defensive power of England at a particularly critical time.

On June 10, 1667, the Dutch fleet, under de Ruyter, attacked and captured Sheerness, and on the 12th sailed up the Medway to Chatham, inflicting great damage; afterwards proceeding up the Thames as far as the Lower Hope Reach, within five miles of Gravesend, and in sight of Tilbury Fort.¹ There they were opposed and beaten off by a small squadron under Sir Edward Spragge, and after that repulse their next and, as it proved to be, final effort was an attack on Landguard Fort, and an attempt at landing their forces on the coast of Suffolk.

Having thus briefly sketched the general situation, I will now give in detail an account of the events that followed at Landguard, which happily resulted in the complete repulse of the daring attempt made upon it by our Dutch enemy.

The unexpected hostile action of the Dutch caused something like panic throughout the country, and every effort was at once made to protect the eastern coast of England against invasion. The troops stationed at Lowestoft, Southwold, Dunwich, and Aldeburgh, were withdrawn thence, and were concentrated at Landguard Fort,² Harwich being looked upon as

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 207, Nos. 69, 102, and 113.

² State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 206, No. 47.

the most vulnerable, and consequently most likely point of attack. Suspicion had, moreover, been aroused in that quarter by reason that two small Dutch vessels had lately been seen taking soundings below the fort.¹ As a precautionary measure, therefore, "seven colliers, and a ship of twenty guns, all disguised as Men-of-war, with Jack, Ensign, and pendant, were laid across the arm of the sea, from Landguard Fort to the side beacon,² with holes cut, ready to be sunk in case of the enemy's approach."

The preparations for defence which were being made at Harwich were vigorously pushed on, and the Militia trained bands of Essex, and several troops of cavalry were ordered into the town.

On June 20, the Dutch fleet was seen standing in towards Harwich,³ though nothing in the shape of an attack was then attempted.

For the next few days the enemy's fleet was content to cruise along the coast between Harwich and the North Foreland, but, owing to the haziness of the weather, its movements could not be accurately watched from the shore. The temporary respite thus afforded was utilised to the utmost in completing the fortification of Harwich, and on June 30, the Earl of Oxford, Lord Lieutenant of Essex, wrote thus to Lord Arlington,⁴ from Harwich⁵: "The Dutch Fleet has anchored in the Gunfleet, and thus given so much time that whatever they design against Harwich will be in vain, as a Regiment of 1,200 Militia Foot is advancing, and the rest of the Militia ready at short notice. The platforms are laid, and within an hour the guns will be mounted."

On July 2, however, the long-expected attack at last took place. The Dutch, in proceeding to carry it out, resorted at the outset to a ruse as follows. Weighing anchor at dawn, they sailed away northward, out of sight,⁶ as far as Aldeburgh, where they came about, and at once bore up again back towards Harwich, passing Orfordness at 7-0 a.m.⁶ At 11-0 a.m. they arrived off Felixstowe, coming in, as an eye-witness describes their course, "close between the sands from the Suffolk coast, a way our great ships never used to adventure,"⁷ and the foremost close upon Landguard Fort. This seems to show that there was at that time some kind of a deep-water channel much nearer in shore than any now in existence, and it seems probable that the place where the fleet actually brought up before commencing to attack was off shore somewhere abreast of the spot where "Q" Martello tower now stands, and out of range of the fort guns. By one o'clock, it is stated, "47 vessels were at the back of the Fort,"⁷ which

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 206, No. 109.

² *i.e.* at Harwich.

³ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 206, No. 109, 1.

⁴ Henry Bennett, Secretary of State.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 207, No. 131.

⁶ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 208, Nos. 24 and 25.

⁷ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 208, Nos. 26 and 27.

means, probably, that they had then reached a position from which they could attack it in reverse; five were in the Sledway,¹ and eight or nine anchored in the outer part of the Rolling Ground (*see frontispiece*).

The Dutch plan of attack appears, from the sequel, to have been as follows. To the 47 vessels above mentioned, forming the main portion of the fleet, was assigned the task of covering the landing of the assaulting party which was to be disembarked on the beach by boats. The ships in the Sledway and Rolling Ground were at the same time to engage the fort, and, under the diversion created by their fire, the force disembarked upon the beach was to storm the fort by escalade on its landward side, that, of course, being its weakest point. A thousand men were landed by 10 o'clock, and their number was, later in the day, increased to two or three thousand, "with a very great stand of pikes," their landing being covered by constant firing, directed at the fort, and at the vessels "placed at the entrance of the harbour to be sunk for security."²

CHAPTER XI.

THE DUTCH ATTACK ON LANDGUARD IN 1667.

THE actual details of the landing, the assault, and the subsequent retreat, are best given in the words of eye-witnesses, who saw the whole of the action from the Dovercourt cliffs, and from Beacon hill at Harwich.

The first letter on the subject is from Silas Taylor, Keeper of the King's Store at Harwich, to Joseph Williamson,³ Keeper of H.M.'s Papers of State at Whitehall. It is dated from Harwich, July 3, 1667, about 11 noon, and runs as follows⁴ :—

"It was judged that the eight Dutch ships who sent such clouds of smoke upon the fort out of the Rolling Grounds were merely for that purpose. That they landed about Filstow Cliffs (alias Felixstow) above 2,000 men, I have reason to believe from my own guess. The Suffolk forces came to them in inclosures,⁵ about 4 of the clock, or 5. They spared about 400 or 500, relieved from the main body (that stood near the place they landed, with a strong body of pikes, which I plainly saw), to assault the forces above the hill, and with them two or three drakes,⁶ with which they maintained the lanes and hedges; so that the Earl of Suffolk got his ground of them in a manner but by inches, because his horse were excluded from the service.

"In the mean, a party of 300 or 400, or more, ran along the beach, in

¹ The name of a channel off the Suffolk coast, opposite Bawdsey.

² State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 208, No. 28.

³ Secretary of State from 1664 to 1668. Represented Thetford and Rochester in different Parliaments, and in 1678 was president of the Royal Society. He died in 1701.

⁴ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 208, No. 55.

⁵ In close formation.

⁶ A small piece of ordnance.

the smoke that the ships from the Rolling Grounds had made, up to Landguard Fort, with scaling ladders painted, of about 20 feet long or more, hand granadoes,¹ etc. They came briskly up, with their cutlasses drawn upon their arms, and their muskets, and came up close to the fort, whose reception to them, when discovered, was as brisk. This assault, with a continual playing of small shot, lasted about half an hour, and they were repulsed. They had got under the sand banks, which our Galliot hoy² and the *Lenox*³ and the *Truelove*⁴ played upon from the water, and waited their motion, and they discerned them at this assault about 5 of the clock in the afternoon, dragging off their dead. About an hour after, they tried again, but were presently discouraged, and in disorder ran away, leaving some of their ladders, their hand granadoes, and a case of very handsome pistols; and as the ships saw them within the fort in the Salt Road, they bestowed upon them a bullet welcome.

"About 9 of the clock all was silent, and they drawn to their body about Filstow Cliff (their boats being on ground, which caused them to stand their ground the longer), and being pressed on by the Earl of Suffolk had a much to do to keep themselves from disorder, especially could the horse but have come at them at that began (*sic*) in the woods above the cliff, about 11 of the clock at night, and lasted till about two in the morning; at what time, the water floating their boats, they got off to their ships, who about 6 this morning, were all under sail, and now out of sight, by reason they are shut from us by Filstow Cliff, being in Ouseley Bay; but yet, now and then, I think I hear some of their guns.

"The five great Dutch ships in the Sledway ride there still. One of the ships that came yesterday into the Rolling Grounds was a rear admiral. The particulars of the loss on both sides is very uncertain, only one man killed in the fort; but what with my Lord of Suffolk, I know not, but several are. They found but four Dutch killed before the Fort.

"This is all I have at present, but only that I am unwilling any opportunity should pass me of letting you know how much."

The Earl of Oxford, Lord Lieutenant of Essex, sent the following account⁵ to Lord Arlington, dated Harwich, July 3, 9 in the morning:—

"My Lord,

"This night with the young flood, the enemy shipped the remainder of their beaten party, and this morning the fleet have turned their backs, and are driving away as fast as the dead calm will suffer them. I thought it

¹ Hand grenades. Small, hollow metal balls filled with powder, fired by slow match, and thrown by hand amongst the enemy.

² A small galley or sort of brigantine.

³ A privateer commanded by Captain John Holmes; hired by the government for this war.

⁴ A frigate—a sixth-rate, of 16 guns, 75 men—commanded by Captain Langley.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 208, No. 54.

necessary to inform your lordship of it, though I have nothing else to say but that. In case the fleet go quite off from the coast, I hope his Majesty will give me leave to do so too, and attend him at London.

"This harbour (with the fortification and manning of the fort of Landguard, and this town), adding our fire-ships, is not now an enterprise for Dutch courages, and truly the disreputation that must follow such an enterprise as their first appearance seemed to promise, does a little moderate my trouble for our loss at Chatham.

"Pray God send all the King's enemies so base an end."

The following day's post brought accounts in more circumstantial detail, in a letter¹ to Williamson, also from Silas Taylor, dated Harwich, July 4, 1667:—

"Sir,

"I have only this to add to Tuesday's account; that Captain Darell, Governor of the Fort of Landguard, was wounded with a musket shot in the shoulder, but not dangerously. That towards the evening, there was sent over a strong party of several hundreds of men hence to the other side of the water, under the command of Major Legg,² who were very welcome to the Earl of Suffolk, but the enemy were drawn off before they could come to them. Several boats laden with dead men were seen by several to put off from the shore.

"A Swede which trades from Hamburg was kept by De Ruyter eight or nine days, and came in yesterday, and saith that he was present when De Ruyter had an account of many passages given to him; among others, he saith, that about sixty or eighty, by their own confession, are slain; that some commanders of quality are slain, that a lieutenant-colonel,³ an Englishman, tall, led the Dutch on to the assault of the fort; that two Englishmen, pilots, were aboard De Ruyter, one of them was sent on board that Vice Admiral that ran on ground the point of the Andrews,⁴ which came up with those eight ships into the Rolling Grounds; that that accident was a great hindrance to them, and long detained them; that they were divided into three squadrons, who, after the landing of the foot, were to be employed thus: the first to lie near the Platters,⁵ and play on the fort from that side; another to come into the Rolling Grounds, and play upon the fort on t'other side; the last to come straight in.

"They were much troubled by our ships that lay across the entrance, not knowing whether they were men-of-war or fire-ships, but wondered more to

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 208, No. 72.

² This is *Colonel* John Legge, before-mentioned.

³ Colonel Doleman—an English Republican, mentioned by Bishop Parker in his "History of his own Time" as "that inveterate enemy to his country."

⁴ A dangerous shoal off Landguard point which forms the northern boundary of the entrance to Harwich harbour.

⁵ A shoal off Landguard point.

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PLATE V.



SCALING LADDER CAPTURED FROM THE DUTCH ON JULY 2, 1667.

[To face p. 47.

see some of them sink. They questioned not to take the fort, or that they would have yielded upon the first sight of them, but say it was a stronger piece than ever they could have imagined to have found. They were made believe that there were but 30 guns and 150 men.

"Yesterday in the morning they sailed towards Aldborough, and there we saw them this morning. His Royal Highness¹ came into town here this morning at 7 of the clock, where he stays and dines, and then over to Landguard."

There is yet another account taken from the "London Gazette" of July 14, 1667, which differs in certain small details, but which, as the achievement was such a remarkable one, deserves a place in the narrative. It runs thus:

"About 1 o'clock their Fleet, consisting of 47 sale with their Attenders, stood within half cannon shot of the shore towards Felstow Cliffe but out of reach of Landguard Fort, leaving 5 of their number at the Sledway: and then, manning out their boats, landed about 3000 men at the cliff, with a great stand of pikes. Near 2000 of them marched up, and made two assaults upon Landguard Fort, where they were stoutly entertained, and after three quarters of an hour's dispute in the first assault and about a quarter of an hour's only in the second, they were forced to retire in such haste, that they left their ladders all behind them scarcely being able to carry off their dead which is judged to be about 150 at the least.

"Whilst these assaults were making upon the Fort, about 1200 were left behind near the cliff to secure their retreat were encountered by the Trained Bands (commanded) by the Earl of Suffolk, and a smart skirmish began between them which continued until 10 in the evening, when it was renewed by the return of the beaten Companies from the Fort, who by the lowness of the ebb were hindered from returning to their boats, at which time a party of 500 foot were drawn out under command of Major Legge to fall upon the enemy in the rear, whose success we must expect at the arrival of the next post. In this day's service, we lost only 3 or 4 men, and as many hurt, with Captain Darell, who has received a wound in the shoulder.

"They have not as yet made any attempt upon the town, being resolved first to try their fortunes upon the fort to which (tis believed) they have not the courage left to return."

Of the ladders which have been mentioned in these accounts, one survives at the present day, at Calehill, near Ashford, in Kent—the seat of Mr. J. Darell-Blount, the present head of the Darell family—and a picture of it is given in *plate 5*. The ladder is 18 ft. 6 in. long, and originally had 22 rungs, but only 12 now remain. The size of the rungs is 14½ in. by 3½ by ½ in.,

¹ The Duke of York.

and the ribs of the ladder measure 4 in. by 3 in. A board attached to the ladder has the following inscription upon it :—

“ This Scaling Ladder forms part of a trophy of Major Darell, who, during the Second Dutch War of the time of Charles 2nd, A.D. 1667, in a Sally from Landguard fort, drove off the Dutch under Admiral De Ruyter.”

It is curious to compare these accounts with an intercepted letter,¹ written from a Dutch point of view, by an English exile in Holland, who was present at the attack. It is dated July 15, 1667, and is addressed to a Mr. Samuel Cottington :—

“ Sir,

“ Lest you should be abused by the vapour of the court about the late business at Harwich, I thought good to give you this short account ; that after we landed 1,200 brave fellows, under the command of noble Dolman, we did great execution on shore, though we were designed to be cut off by a party of horse, which skulked as it were in ambush ; yet we returned with great honour and booty, lost only 7 men upon the place, and 17 wounded, which we reckon nothing in comparison of those acquired advantages, conducting to an honourable peace.

“ His Excellency, the Lord Ruyter, with the main body, lies before Harwich, as lord of the channel ; that incomparable, the Lord of Ghent, is with a strong squadron gone northward ; the rest cruises to and fro in the channel, so that you see the day is ours, and we reckon the sooner the King ratifies the conclusion at Breda, the better for him and the land, for now we will not fall an ace.

“ Some melanchole spirits are dejected at the proclamation to convene the Parliament, and the little loss at Harwich ; but we, h : bo (*sic*), are not at all down at such stories, being resolved to live and die in so honourable a quarrel.”

From all these accounts it seems clear that the honours of the day rested mainly with Captain Nathaniel Darell, the governor of the fort, as Legge did not arrive on the scene of action until late in the day, in time only to deliver the *coup de grâce*. To Darell, therefore, distinctly belongs the credit of having beaten off a determined assault in the face of overwhelming numbers, and with him and his garrison rests the honour of having saved the fort from capture, and of having thus in a great measure restored the confidence in our fighting power which had been so rudely shaken by the disasters sustained at Sheerness and Chatham.

Darell himself was, on account of his wounded arm, unable to write until the 9th, but on that date he addressed the following short and very

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 209, No. 86, 1.

modest letter¹ to his "honoured Friend, Joseph Williamson, Esq., Secretary to the Right Hon^{ble} my Lord Arlington."

"Sir, "Landguard Point forte. July 9th, 1667.

"If I had had my arme as much at libertie as I could wish you should not have prevented me with your letter by which you have very much obliged me. I shall studie on all occasions to deserve so great a favour. I hope you will excuse me for not giving you so early an intelligence as those of Harwich who were spectators. I shall not trouble you at present with reiterating unto you the passages that hapned here being. I have acquainted my Lord Arlington with itt. I shall be very carefull in giving you notice of anything that shall happen in these parts, with this assurance (although by another hand for which I hope you will excuse me) that of all those that make profession of being your servants none shall be with greater truth than my selfe."

"Sir, Your most humble servant,"

(sd.) "NATHL. DARELL."

Thus ends the account of the memorable attack on Landguard—an event which is, I regret to say, almost forgotten by most of us to-day. More than 230 years have elapsed, yet nothing has ever been done to commemorate the victory won on that 2nd of July, 1667. Surely some part of the existing fort might be called after Darell, so that the name, at least, of a fine soldier shall not be entirely lost to recollection. A "Darell" Battery, with a suitable inscription on one of the fort bastions, would be a fitting tribute to the memory of a distinguished and brave man, as also a simple manner of recording the victory which, coming as it did at a very critical period of the history of our country, was of more far-reaching effect than we are now probably able to realise.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM 1667 TO 1680.

ALTHOUGH the Dutch had been unsuccessful in their attack on the fort, it was considered more than probable that they would renew their attempt in a few days; consequently no efforts were spared to render the coast safe against further attacks, nor was the vigilance of the defenders in any degree relaxed.

As soon as the news of the fight of July 2 reached London, the Duke of York left for Harwich, where he arrived on the 4th, and we read that his "presence much comforts the people." On July 6 he visited Landguard.²

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 209, No. 16.

² State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 208, No. 113.

For the next few days the Dutch fleet remained at anchor in the Gunfleet and Sledway, but on the morning of the 9th it was reported to be "seven leagues off" from Harwich. "Their movements are uncertain; sometimes they are before Aldborough, sometimes Southwold."¹

The Duke of York left Harwich on the 10th, and, though rumours to the effect that peace had been concluded were gaining ground, it was still expected that the Dutch would make another attack upon the fort.

On July 16, sixty of the Dutch ships were reported to be lying off Harwich, keeping "their old station," *i.e.*, in the Gunfleet, the letter² concluding thus:—"The Officers, Seamen, and Soldiers at Landguard Fort are well fitted, and heartily wish, if the enemy's purpose is a further fight, that they would do it out of hand, being now far better provided for them, having thrown down the banks between the Fort and the sea, to bring the small shot, as well as great, to bear upon them."

Another letter³ of the same date written by Silas Taylor, before mentioned, from Harwich says that he "hopes Landguard Passage is well guarded, the Dutch having an aching tooth against Harwich, for being so serviceable against them. The hazy weather and high wind prevent reports of the Dutch, and hinder our Fleet's getting out." The letter concludes with the remark that the Dutch "are about the Sledway and off Bardsey sands, dare not budge from their anchors for the wind, and are quiet neighbours."

Meantime, Landguard Fort had been provisioned for 780 men "in case it should be besieged,"⁴ and on July 30, the whole Dutch fleet, after having paid a flying visit to Sheerness, and the mouth of the Thames, was again riding at anchor in the Gunfleet,⁵ with the "show of a design to attempt Landguard Fort a second time."⁶

However, the treaty of peace between England and Holland was signed at Breda on July 31, the news of its ratification being received in England with manifestations of great joy. The immediate result of this was that "all extraordinary Gunners lately taken in for his Ma^{ties} Service at Landguard Fort" were paid off and discharged.⁷ Otherwise no change was made in the constitution of the garrison for the next eighteen months.

It may here be mentioned, incidentally, that amongst the copper traders' tokens which were in use throughout the country at that period,⁸ as small

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 209, No. 15.

² State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 209, No. 131.

³ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 209, No. 140.

⁴ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 211, No. 36.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 211, No. 92.

⁶ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 212, No. 46.

⁷ Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 3, p. 201.

⁸ "The Coinage of Suffolk," by Charles Golding. London, 1868, p. 55.

change, half-pence and farthings were in circulation at or in the neighbourhood of Landguard.

The half-penny bears on the obverse

LANDGVARD = A lion rampant.

And on the reverse

POYNT. FORTE. 1667 = OB. A cross pattée.

The OB. on the reverse of this token is an abbreviation of the Latin word *obolus*—a half-penny—and is a mark which very rarely appears on tokens.

The inscription on the farthing is similar to that upon the half-penny, omitting the word OB. on the reverse.

In 1672 all these traders' tokens were "cried down" by royal proclamation, and the use of them was consequently thenceforth discontinued.

On October 3, 1668, Charles II. arrived at Landguard¹ from Ipswich, accompanied by a numerous retinue, and, after inspecting the fort, embarked on his yacht and crossed the harbour, landing at Harwich that afternoon at 3 p.m., but returning to his yacht for the night.

Whilst the King was at Harwich, Major Darell² brought to His Majesty's notice the condition and wants of the troops under his command, by presenting a petition on the subject, in which he showed "That his Company of his Royall Highness the Duke of York's regiment in y^e said Forte doe only fall sick for want of Bedds, Blanketts, & other accommodation w^{ch} hee humbly prayed may bee forthwith provided": and in compliance with the prayer of that petition, orders³ were issued for the said articles "to bee immediately sent and delivered to y^e said Major Darell or to such persons as hee shall appoint to receive them."

In January 1669, Captain Cartwright's company moved from Landguard to Gravesend,⁴ thus leaving Darell's company in sole charge of the fort.

On June 3, 1669, a visit was made to the fort by Cosmo III., Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was then making a tour in England, and it is recorded that he was received by the governor "with all the honour and military ceremony which could be given him in that place."⁵

In August 1670, Darell was ordered to move⁶ with his company from

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Bundle 247, No. 46.

² Was promoted Major on April 15, 1668.

³ Ordnance Warrant Book, 1667-1673, fol. 38, b.

⁴ Miscellany Order Book. Vol. 512, fol. 1.

⁵ *The London Gazette*, June 7 to 10, 1669.

⁶ Miscellany Order Book. Vol. 512, fol. 76, 77.

Landguard to Sheerness, of which place he was, on arrival, appointed governor, and Landguard was occupied by Sir Charles Lyttelton's company from Harwich,¹ Lyttelton at the same time becoming governor of the fort (*see* p. 98).

During the year 1671 international complications again arose with the Dutch, and the diplomatic relations of England with that nation were strained almost to the point of rupture; orders were consequently issued for the strengthening of all garrisons, and for the renewal and repair of all coast defences, and Sir Charles Lyttelton, at Landguard, was directed "(if he see occasion) to give order to Cap^m Anthony Buller's Comp^y of y^e High Admiralls Regim^t now in Garrison at Harwiche to march into Landguard fort to join with his company and doe duty."²

In March 1672, war was again declared against the Dutch, and in the following month Sir Charles Lyttelton seems to have made the usual periodical complaint about the bad state of the fortifications at Landguard, writing on the subject thus³:—"This place is in the most miserable condition of any fort in Europe. Everyone who sees it and considers its importance wonders that no greater care is taken to secure it."

The Dutch fleet was at this time cruising along the east coast of England, being at one time sighted off the North Foreland, at another off the coast of Norfolk; and, in May, Lyttelton consequently fitted out, for reconnoitring purposes, a small vessel, which went to sea daily to collect information, returning to port every night.

Writing⁴ in the same month Lyttelton states that he "need say nothing of the miserable condition of this place but would be glad to know if he is to expect no other assistance than S^r Rob^t Carey's company of 60 men & his own of that number," pointing out at the same time how large a garrison it had been found necessary to station at Landguard when the Dutch made their attack in 1667.

This is the first mention of the presence of Sir Robert Carey's company in the neighbourhood; it seems to have been encamped on the high ground near Walton, but to have done garrison duty, and furnished guards, &c., at the fort.

The apprehended attack did not, however, take place, although about the middle of May such an eventuality appeared to be more than probable; all possible local preparation had been made for a stout resistance, and, on the principle that "nothing succeeds like success" it may be inferred that the preparations made for defence were sufficient and effectual.

¹ Miscellany Order Book, Vol. 512, fol. 76.

² Miscellany Order Book, Vol. 512, fol. 137.

³ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Bundle 306, No. 31.

⁴ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Bundle 307, No. 324.

On May 16, Sir Charles Lyttelton again called attention to the unsatisfactory state of his command. "I wish," he wrote,¹ "you could have as good an acc^t of mee, for Langor Fort stands just as neglected as ever it did, only there is more company in it; for I have lately my company made up 100 men, and I have S^r Robt^t Caryes company in FitzGerrard's² regiment quarters upon y^e hill and keeps guard heere, and two troopes, my L^d Oxford's and S^r Francis Crompton's."

On May 28, the great naval battle³ of Sole, otherwise Southwold, Bay was fought off the coast of Suffolk, between the allied English and French fleets on the one hand, and the Dutch fleet on the other, with an indecisive result, though great losses were inflicted upon both sides. Amongst others, the English lost the Earl of Sandwich,⁴ Admiral of the Blue, whose ship the "Royal James,"⁵ was burnt, whilst he himself leaped overboard and was drowned.

His body was found a few days⁶ after the battle, floating in the sea, some distance from the scene of the action, and was brought into Landguard Fort, and embalmed, by order of Sir Charles Lyttelton, who wrote⁷ on June 4, "he lyes now in my chappell in his coffin, wth black bays over it, and some black bays and scutcheons round the chappell, w^{ch} is all the ceremony this place will afford, till further directions." The body lay in state at the fort until June 19, on which date it was removed on board the "Fanfan," a small yacht belonging to Prince Rupert, then lying in Harwich harbour. Lyttelton, writing on the 20th,⁸ thus describes the ceremony of conveying the body from the fort to the ship:—

"Sarjeant Knight brought mee an order on Tuesday night from his R^{ll} Highnesse to deliver to him the body of my L^d Sandwich w^{ch} I did y^e last night aboard y^e Fanfan. I had no directions how I was to part wth it as to y^e Ceremony. I sent to invite y^e Gentlemen of y^e country who desired it, but the warning was so short, but few came. The Mayor of Harwich, Cap^t Taylor and y^e principall of y^e Towne I sent [for] and were heere. I had Colonel Buller's Company, (too) w^{ch} joyned to my own made a guard to y^e water side. When y^e body was gone of in y^e boate we fired some volleys of small shot, and after 21 great Guns from y^e Fort. I thought it undecent to part wthout some such, because its

¹ Hatton Correspondence, Vol. 1, p. 85.

² Colonel FitzGerald's regiment of foot disbanded at close of Dutch war.

³ There is a painting of this fight by W. van de Welde, the younger, in the Marquis of Bute's collection.

⁴ Edward Montagu, 1st Earl, Created 1660.

⁵ A first rate—78 guns, and 500 men.

⁶ From the MSS. of Mr. S. H. Le Fleming, p. 94. News-letter, dated June 11, 1672.

⁷ Hatton Correspondence, Vol. 1, p. 90.

⁸ State Papers, Domestic, Charles II. Bundle 311.

being heere was so publikely known, though they have order to passe through the Fleet wth all privacy." The body was interred at Westminster Abbey on June 24.

Buller's company, before-mentioned, had been, during this period, retained in Harwich, not, it is stated,¹ "for the safety of this place, (*i.e.* Harwich) but in case of danger to retire from hence to Landguard Fort."

About this time Carey's company was moved to Windsor, and, on December 10, in the same year,² Sir Charles Lyttelton proceeded with his company to Rochester³ where several companies of his regiment were then being concentrated. It does not, however, appear that he relinquished the governorship of the fort during his absence.

The place of his company at Landguard was supplied by a company of Colonel John Fitzgerald's regiment, under the command of Major Sir Edward Charleton.

Charleton's company left the fort in the spring of 1673, on being relieved by a company under the command of Captain Edward Talbot, of the Barbadoes Regiment,⁴ which had recently arrived in England from service abroad.

An inventory⁵ of Charleton's furniture, which was sold by him to Captain Talbot on his taking over Charleton's quarters in the fort, gives an idea of what an officer's barrack-furniture consisted in those days, and its price. The inventory runs thus;—

"Things belonging to the house of Landguardfort which belonged to S^r Edward Charleton Aprill the 18th 1673.

	li	s.	d.
In S ^r Edwards Chamber the hangings - - -	05	00	00
A feather Bed with Bolster and pillow - - -	05	00	00
A Bedstead - - - - -	00	12	00
Two Blankets coverlett Teaster and curtaines - -	01	00	00
Three Tablees - - - - -	00	09	00
The gratefire shouell and Tongs Chamberpot and bellows	00	07	00

{

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Charles II. Bundle 311.

² State Papers, Domestic, Charles II. Bundle 317, fol. 151.

³ Hatton Correspondence, Vol. I., p. 97.

⁴ The Barbadoes regiment was raised in 1667, for service in the West Indies, but was soon disbanded; those officers and men who wished to serve under the King were permitted to return to England. The officers received fresh commissions in 1671, but the regiment was finally disbanded in 1674.

⁵ From the MSS. of Mr. Eliot Hodgkin.

Things Belonging to S ^r Edward Charleton in the kithin								li	s.	d.
An iron pott	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	00	12	00
A musterd Mill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	00	03	00
Two pott Racks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	00	08	00
A fireforke Grate Tongs fender and Shouell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	01	10	00
A spitt -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	00	03	00
A chopping knife -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	00	01	00
A tin grater and 3 seauers ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	00	03	00
A fflower tubb	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	00	04	00
In the Celler								li	s.	d.
Six stands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	00	12	00
In the parlour								li	s.	d.
One Great grate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	00	16	00
Twelve Turkey worke chaires	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	03	00	00
A Grate for the Guard ²	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	01	10	00
Some totall is								21	10	00

"Received by me from Cap^{tn} Edward Talbott for the above-mentioned goods the 2 : of Sep^{br} 1673 wittness my hand

"Wittness (sd.) RICH: GRIFFITH (sd.) HOWARD."

Captain Talbot, like most of his predecessors, found it necessary to draw the attention of the authorities to the state of the fort and addressed the following letter³ to Sir Thomas Chichley, who was at that time Master General of the Ordnance.

"S^r, I am a person all togeather a strangier to you, which is my misfortune, and since my lott hath fallen to be in this ffort, I can doe noe less than give y^r Honor an account of the condition of the place, which I have in part done by signing to the paper, sent you by the Master Gunner. The Garyson to deale cleerely with you is soe much out of repaire in all respects, that I neavor did see any thing like it. The Draw-Bridge haveinge ben faulne downe long since, and nothing yett done towards repairing it. I shall only trouble y^r Honor with one thing more, which is to desier that there may be a speedy care taken for a supply of coles for the Garyson, for now the sickly time of the yeare is coming on, and

¹ Sieves, presumably.

² Perhaps this ought to be "a guard for the grate."

³ From the MSS. of Mr. Eliot Hodgkin.

my men haveing ben long in a hot contrie can not endure cold well yett but will generally fall soe sick that theye will not be able to performe the duty required of them. This is all at present from

"S^r Y^r very humble Servant (sd.) EDW. TALBOT."

"August: 20: 73.

Landgard poynt ffort."

In February 1674, after the signature of the treaty of peace with Holland, Lyttelton's company was brought back to Landguard from Rochester.

A document¹ entitled "An Accompt of Monies disbursed for Carriages vpon the Marches of Tenn Companies of his Royall Highnesse the Duke of Yorke's Regiment vnder S^r Charles Lyttelton's command from their former quarters to the quarters wherein they are now lately settled" shows the route taken by this company, and affords an illustration of the cost of hired transport in those days. The document commences thus:—"The Colonell's Company from Rochester to Putney, and back again to Rochester, and soe to Landguard Fort." Why it went to Putney does not appear; possibly it may have been temporarily diverted, in order to take part in some review of troops in or near London.

	Miles.	li	s.	d.
"For one wagon from Rochester to Putney -	36	-	00	18 00
From Putney to Rochester -	36	-	00	18 00
From Rochester to Gravesend -	08	-	00	04 00
From Gravesend to Tilbury -	12	-	00	06 00
From Tilbury to Colchester -	44	-	01	02 00
From Colchester to Landguard Fort -	35	-	00	17 06
	in all		04	05 06 "

The march from Gravesend to Tilbury (the distance across the Thames at that point is about half a mile) seems to have been unduly spun out, so it must be presumed that the troops did not cross at Gravesend, but proceeded to some point higher up the river, ferried across, and marched down to Tilbury.

For the next few years peace reigned supreme, and until 1678 no change occurred in the constitution of the garrison of the fort, but in the early part of that year Lyttelton was sent into Flanders to Bruges, "to take command of our English Forces there,"² The troops, however, all

¹ Miscellany Order Book. Vol. 512, a. fols. 343-4.

² Miscellany Order Book. Vol. 514, fol. 243.

returned from Flanders at the end of the same year, and Lyttelton then resumed his governorship of the fort.

Towards the end of 1679 Lyttelton's company was transferred from Landguard to Sheerness. and was replaced in February 1680, by a company of the Royal regiment of Foot Guards¹ brought from Portsmouth, under the command of Captain Sir Roger Manley (*see* p. 100), who, on the 1st of the same month, was appointed governor of the fort.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM 1680 TO 1704.

FROM this point the recorded history of the fort becomes, in a measure, uneventful, consisting as it does, to a considerable extent, of notices of the periodical changes of governors, and of the troops composing the garrison.

Manley's company of the Guards, garrisoning the fort as above-mentioned, seems to have been the only company of that regiment, not present with it at the coronation of James II. in 1685.

In 1687 Manley died, and Lieutenant Colonel William Eyton (*see* p. 101) succeeded to the governorship.

It was during Eyton's governorship that a deputy, or lieutenant governor, of the fort was first appointed. This office was instituted on the recommendation of Colonel Eyton, who, after calling attention to complaints which had been made² "of the damages daily done to the country by the Detached Party of Soldiers (which garrisoned Landguard Fort); as also in regard of the Embezzlement³ of the Stores in the said Fort," recommended to His Majesty "the sending of a Lieut. Governour to reside upon the place, for preventing such abuses." *En passant* it may be noted that this clearly shows that the office of governor had been non-residential. The residential office of lieut. governor continued to exist down to 1854.

The first lieut. governor was Captain Francis Hammond,⁴ who was appointed on December 9, 1687,⁴ he being at that time a Lieutenant in the Royal regiment of Foot Guards. Twenty-four years later he attained the higher post of governor (*see* p. 103).

In January 1688, Colonel Eyton died, and Admiral Henry Killigrew (*see* p. 101) was appointed governor in his stead. Killigrew was the first and only naval officer, who held the governorship, though it was, of course, no uncommon thing in those days for the officers in the higher ranks of the two services to hold interchangeable command.

¹ Now the Grenadier Guards.

² Treasury Papers. Vol. 21, p. 249.

³ Also spelt Hamond, or Hamon.

⁴ War Office Commission Book. No. 1258, p. 20.

Lieutenant-governors do not seem to have fared better than other officers in the matter of their pay, for in 1693, Hammond presented a petition¹ to the King, stating that when he assumed office in 1687, he was "assured by Coll. Eyton that His Maj^{ty} would allow ten shillings per diem, which should be equally divided. But Coll. Eyton dying, the said Salary was not settled, your petitioner having done the duty ever since (being about five years) without any allowance, Therefore most humbly implores Your Maj^{ty} to order him some Allowance for his past service in the said Fort and a settlement for the future as to your Maj^{ty} Gracious Wisdome shall seem meet."

The petition is dated April 10, 1693, and is endorsed "To bee respited till the King's returne."

Hammond was fortunate, however, in securing almost immediate attention to his petition, for on May 8, the following report² upon it was submitted by Lord Ranelagh³ to the Lords of the Treasury:—"That by the Establishment under my care, nothing is allowed, either to the Governour, or Deputy Governour of that Fort, there being only a provision made by it for a Chaplain, one Master Gunner, and six other Gunners.

"That I am credibly informed, the late King designed him a salary of Five Shillings a day, as Deputy Governour of the said Fort but I cannot find that the said salary was ever settled, or that the Petitioner hath ever received any consideration of that kind. All I have paid him is a Pension of Four Shillings a day, inserted amongst many others, in a List, signed by his now Ma^{ty} commencing from the 1st of May, 1689: which was also allowed him by King Charles the Second.

"That the Petitioner hath for five years and a half past executed the said place of Deputy Governour of the said Fort with great care and diligence, and with no small expence, and therefore I am humbly of opinion he may reasonably pretend to some consideracon for the time past, and to some allowance for the time to come.

"All which however is humbly submitted to your Lord^{sh} this 8th day of May, 1693."

Orders were passed by the Lords of the Treasury on May 31, 1693, "To make it up to 8 shillings a day from the 1st of January, 1692." Thus it will be seen that in rather less than two months from the date of the petition orders thereon were finally passed, which prompt action is in rather strong contrast to the delays that formerly took place in dealing with applications for financial assistance.

¹ Treasury Papers. Vol. 21, p. 249.

² Treasury Papers. Vol. 22, p. 31.

³ Paymaster General of the Forces, and a Privy Councillor.

In 1700 the salary of the lieut. governor was definitely fixed at 73*l. per annum*,¹ i.e. 4 shillings a day.

In the year 1694 an estimate²—amounting to £316. 3s. od.—was drawn up by the officers of the Ordnance “of work necessary to be done at Landguard Fort.” Subsequent events, however, show that the fort must at that time have really been past repair, for it will afterwards be seen that early in the 18th century a new fort was erected upon a site adjacent to that of the old one.

In 1697 Killigrew relinquished the governorship, and was succeeded by Lieut. Colonel Edward Jones (*see* p. 102) of the 2nd regiment of Foot Guards.³

On the accession of Queen Anne in 1702, Captain Hammond took the opportunity of presenting a petition⁴ to the Queen praying “for payment of arrears of his pension and, additional allowances as Lieutenant Governor of Landguard Fort.” That petition was, however, “not granted.”

Immediately after Anne's accession, war was declared against France, and early in May the company of the Buffs then stationed at Landguard was ordered abroad. Its place in the fort was taken by a company belonging to Lord Lucas' regiment,⁵ commanded by Captain Richard Steele, the eminent man whose subsequent career as author and essayist was so brilliant and distinguished in the records of English literature. As, however, it is intended here to speak only of his temporary sojourn at Landguard, it will suffice to say, with reference to his career as a soldier, that it commenced early in 1694, when he enlisted as a private soldier in the Duke of Ormond's regiment of Horse Guards. In 1695, he obtained a commission as ensign in the Coldstream Guards, and he became Captain in 1700. In February 1702, he obtained command of a company in Lord Lucas' regiment, then just formed, and left the army in 1705.⁶

Steele, while his company was quartered at Landguard, lived in a farmhouse at Walton,⁷ and at times at Harwich.

Several letters written by him from Landguard have been published, some⁸ of which, containing as they do, references to the fort will prove of interest.

¹ Add. MSS., Brit. Museum, No. 9759, fol. 49, 63.

² Treasury Papers. Vol. 29, p. 29.

³ Now the Coldstream Guards.

⁴ Treasury Papers. Vol. 80, Art. 83.

⁵ Now the Border (late 34th) regiment.

⁶ Full details concerning Steele's military career will be found in “The Life of Richard Steele,” by G. A. Aitken. 2 vols. London, 1889. Isbister.

⁷ *Gentleman's Magazine*. Vol. 60, Part 2, p. 993.

⁸ Other letters of Steele, written from Landguard, are to be found as follows:—Three among the Blenheim MSS., dated respectively June 17 and December 28, 1703, and May 20, 1704. Four in the Add. MSS., British Museum, No. 28927, fols. 171, 173, 176, and 180.

The first—which is taken from the Blenheim collection of papers—was written shortly after Steele's arrival at Landguard; it is addressed to the Duchess of Marlborough, and displays an interesting contrast of emotions of love and war; it is as follows:—

“ Landguard Fort,

“ May 23rd, 1702.

“ Madam,—You owe the Happiness of not hearing my impertinence these last posts to my being so ill that I could not bear the sitting so long at a Table as to write. Yet have I been forced to creep up cursed Bleak Batteries at midnight, the wind being fair for french Privateers and not for any of our ships to come and Guard the road afore this Fort, so that I am obliged to visit my sentries at all hours, they are so raw and ignorant. I believe you laugh at my giving you any account of myself, and 'tis insignificant to you my Good or Ill, tho' it depends wholly on you; however, I am here so utterly left to my own thoughts that my passion gives me double torture, and had I but the least grounds of hope of mercy in another World I would end my cares by throwing myself on my sword.

(sd.) “ RICHARD STEELE.”

Another letter,¹ written in the same year shows that even in the 18th century the trials and hardships of the garrison had in no way abated. The letter runs thus:—

“ Land-Guard-Fort, Sept^r 28th, 1702.

“ Gentlemen,—The Governor of this Garrison, Coll. Jones, before he went to town, where He is at present, directed Mr. Hubbard,² your officer here, to represent the ill condition the Barracks, and all parts of this Garrison, is in, as to our Windows and Tyling: There are Sick Men of the Company here (whereof I am Captain) lye in their Beds expos'd to all the injuries of the Weather: I have at present two Sergeants, two Corporalls, and nine Sentinells so ill that they cannot do Duty; which if I cannot attribute to this cause, I am sure I may say I cannot expect the continuance of other men's health if the Remedy be defer'd till the Winter advances further upon us: I hope my duty to them has not press'd me beyond rules to you, in giving you this trouble.

“ I am, Gentlemen,

“ Y^r most obedient and most humble Servant,

(sd.) “ RICHD. STEELE.”

It is not clear to whom this letter is addressed, but most probably to the officers of the Board of Ordnance.

¹ A Season at Harwich, by W. H. Lindsey, p. 138.

² Master gunner of the fort.

A third letter¹ is dated from "Harwich, July 20th, 1704," and is addressed to John Ellis who was at that time M.P. for Harwich, and was an elder brother of Steele's tutor at Oxford. It commences as follows:—

"Sir, I have the honour of yours of the 18th, and am also to acknowledge another acquainting me that our march would not be so sudden, as I apprehended: It is a very signall service to this place what you are doing in relation to the sick Souldiours, and don't doubt but they will resent² it as such."

The reference in this letter to the approaching march of the company fixes approximately the time at which the garrison ceased to be composed of what one may call regular troops.

The fort had, up to that time, always been occupied by companies either taken from the trained bands of the county, or furnished by regiments of the regular army under their own regimental officers. But between the years 1705 and 1711 a change was made in the constitution of the garrison which, instead of being furnished in the manner which had been up to that time adopted, was thenceforward composed of one of the Invalid companies.

These Invalid companies were originally formed in 1698 from the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital who at that time numbered 600, and they were at first divided into four companies of 150 each, quartered as garrisons at Windsor, Hampton Court, Tynemouth, and Chester. The original force was subsequently largely augmented, and in course of time all the garrison towns of England were garrisoned by it.

Each of these Invalid companies had a fixed establishment of officers, viz.: a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ensign, and by the year 1801 the number of the companies had been increased to 54. They were disbanded in 1804, and the officers who had served in them are in the following years shown in the official army lists as on full pay, and are therein described as "late of the Invalid Companies."

The system of utilising invalid pensioners for garrison purposes was probably adopted from motives of economy, and was, no doubt, a most economical arrangement.

The Mr. Hubbard, alluded to in Steele's second letter, was the master gunner of the fort. His warrant³ of appointment is given in full, as it clearly sets forth the duties and position of the master gunner of those days, which do not greatly differ from the duties of the present time.

¹ Add. MSS. British Museum, No. 28927, fol. 178.

² Fr. *resentir*. A curious example of how the meaning of a word has become in the present day the exact opposite of its original signification.

³ Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 3, p. 79.

JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, &c.

To James Hubbard, Mas^r Gunner.

“By virtue of the authority to me by y^e Queen’s most Excellent Majestie in this behalf given upon y^e good testimony and assurance which I have received of y^r Loyalty Integrity and Ability I doe hereby nominate constitute and appoint you the same James Hubbard, to be Ma^r Gunner of Her Maj^{ties} Garrison of Landguard Fort from henceforth during so long as you shall behave y^r self Loyally Faithfully and Diligently in Her Maj^{ties} Service, you are therefore to take upon you the care and charge of all y^e Ordnance and Stores of Warr that shall be comitted to you for y^e service of y^e garrison hereby strictly chargeing and requiring you to use y^r utmost skill and diligence in y^e p^rformance of y^r duty in y^e said place and to observe and to obey the orders and directions of y^e Governour and Lieut.-Governour of y^e said Garrison and of such other y^r superiour officers and persons as shall and may from time to time call upon y^a for y^e p^rformance of y^r duty as a Master Gunner in Her Maj^{ties} Service and likewise to observe and follow such orders and directions as y^a shall from time to time receive from me or y^e Mas^r Gen^l of y^e Ordnance for y^e time being or y^e Lieut.-Gen^l and Principall Officers of ye same, for y^e bett^r keeping and pserving of y^e gunns Carriages Amunicon and other stores of Warr under y^r care and charge from decay and Perishing and for rendering a true and just acc^t of y^e expenditures thereof and for y^r care and diligence herein y^a are to have and receive y^e daile Vaile or ffee as usuall and is appointed by Her Maj^{ties} Establishment to be payd y^a by the treas^r of Her Maj^{ties} Land Forces Fforts Castles and Garrisons in England. Given at y^e Office of Ordnance under my hand and seal this 31st day of March 1703 in y^e second year of Her Ma^{ties} Reign.”

“(s^d) MARLBOROUGH.”

“By Command of His Grace the Mas^r Gen^l of the Ordnance.”

The pay of a master gunner in 1703 was five shillings a day.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE FORT OF 1626.

IN October 1708 orders were given by the Council to the officers of the Ordnance to prepare and lay before Parliament an estimate¹ "for enlarging the fortifications at Landguard Fort and fortifying Harwich," and in the following year an estimate for those purposes was duly presented. It amounted to £10,801, but was subsequently reduced in amount.²

No actual progress was, however, made with building work during the next few years which appear to have been occupied in arranging for the purchase of the land required for the new fort, and in disposing of vested interests, to which end Commissioners were appointed by the Queen to put in "execution the Act for fortifying the harbours of Portsmouth, Chatham, and Harwich."³

Colonel Jones died at the beginning of 1711, and was succeeded in the governorship by Captain Francis Hammond, the lieutenant governor before mentioned, his commission as governor bearing date May 15, 1711.⁴ Matthew Draper, Esq., was appointed lieutenant governor on the same date.⁵

Very interesting notes about a visit to the fort in 1711, are given in the "Diary of a journey made by Sir James Thornhill, with four others." This diary is in MSS., is copiously illustrated, and is written in an ordinary banker's pass book, in vellum cover, measuring 7 in. by 4½ in. It belongs to Mr. Felix Cobbold, of The Lodge, Felixstowe, who has kindly allowed the following extracts to be taken from it.

Sir James Thornhill, it may be mentioned, had acquired considerable fame as a painter, and in 1711 made a tour through Holland, Flanders, and France. This tour he commenced at Ipswich, making two or three visits to Harwich and Landguard, before he left England. On his return home he was appointed by Queen Anne to paint the cupola of St. Paul's Cathedral, which he decorated with eight scenes from the history of the Apostles and which decoration is still in existence. He died in 1734.

The extracts from the diary which have reference to Landguard, are as follows:—

"Wednesday, May y^e 23^d—In y^e evening we went from Harwich to Landguard Fort wh^{ch} is a place capable of a Good Fortification, whose Plan is as underneath (*see plate 3*). There are 70 Large Cannon on y^e 4 Platforms

¹ Treasury Papers. Vol. 109. p. 176.

² Treasury Papers. Vol. 112. p. 138.

³ Harl. MSS. Brit. Museum, No. 2264, fol. 217.

⁴ Military Entry Book. Vol. 8, p. 96.

⁵ Military Entry Book. Vol. 8, p. 97.

or Bastions. The Gov^{nor} Jones is lately dead, is to be succeed by C. Hamond, is Garison^d by Invalids."

N.B.—We drank a bottle of excell^{at} Barcelona at y^e Suttlers in y^e Fort for 2s."¹

"Near Woulton² about 3 mile from Landguard Fort is an excellent spring which supplies y^e Fort carried through a leaden pipe 2 in. and three quarters in diameter which also becomes a perquisite of the Governor by selling to outward bound ships at 2 pence the barrell."

"May 28th, 1711. Memorandum. At Landguard Fort.—We dined with Mr. Scot, Mr. Marshall, Master Gunner, and Dr. Rust of Woulton. Everyone fired a Gun and I fired two. Mr. Marshall gave us 15 which with our own made 20."

"(Note.—Dr. Rust is Chaplain, Mr. Hubbard is the Gunner)."

"There is a good warren at Langer Fort by the sea side which is farmed by the suttler of the Governor."

"Memorandum.—Captain Steele was four years over a Company at Landguard Fort—a particular friend of old Jones, deceased. He used to lodge at Mrs. Haselfoot's, the Queen's Armes, in Harwich, when there."

"May y^e 29th, 1711.—We went again to Landguard Fort, being the anniversary of King Charles II. restoration. Y^e Fort fired 21 guns. Dr. Rust preached a sermon in y^e olde chappel there, after which we were entertained by Mr. Scot, Mr. Marshall, &c., very well. The place of burial is a quarter of a mile from y^e Fort, N.E."

There is a certain sense—probably unintentional—of humour in the last two remarks, which are highly suggestive of cause and effect. The burial ground alluded to is shown on all the maps and plans of last century, and existed as late as the year 1864 (*see* p. 123).

Some interesting letters, on the subject of affairs at Landguard in 1715-1716, are preserved amongst the manuscripts at Raynham, belonging to the Marquis Townshend, whose ancestor, Lord Townshend,³ was Secretary of State to George I., and they indicate that Captain Hammond, the then governor of the fort, was a person of decidedly arbitrary nature.

¹ This extract is reproduced in facsimile in *plate* 3.

² Walton.

³ Charles Townshend, 2nd Viscount.

For instance, it appears that in September 1715, Lord Townshend was petitioned¹ "to dismiss the said Mr. Hamond, Governor of Landguard Fort, and to put in a just person in his room," the petitioners asking at the same time "to be relieved from the oppressions of Mr. Hamond, the Governor."

And again in the same month an information¹ was sworn before the Mayor of Harwich, by the master of a Yarmouth ship, that "when sailing out of the harbour of Harwich his ship was fired at by the Governour of Landguard Fort," and later it is recorded¹ that the master of a Wisbech ship "is redy and willing to make affidavitt that Mr. Hamond, Governor of Landguard Fort fired a gunn at him," while in March of the following year a complaint was laid against Hammond, and Matthew Draper, (the lieutenant-governor), for placing an officer "under arrest for 24 hours for drinking the health of the Duke of Marlborough."²

Later in the same year the ruinous state of the fort was once again brought to notice by letter,³ addressed by the Surveyor General of Ordnance⁴ to Mr. Secretary Methuen,⁵ dated from the office of Ordnance, August 21, 1716, which runs thus:—

"I take leave once more to remind you of a Representacon from this Board relating to Landguard Fort, which is in so bad a condition, that neither the Fort, Barraques, or Storehouses can be repaired, and it is proposed to bring to Harwich, the people and Stores and lodge them where the King has Houses until the Fort can be rebuilt, which will take up some time to provide the materials of, particularly the Bricks must be contracted for in the neighbourhood—the winter season drawing near I hope will be an excuse for this trouble."

The whole question was subsequently laid before a meeting of the council held at Hampton Court, on October 11, 1716, and the representation⁶ of the officers of the Ordnance on the subject, to the Duke of Marlborough, Master General of the Ordnance, was then read. It ran as follows:—

"Upon perusal of a Report made by John Brooks, the 27th of March last, relating to the state of Landguard Fort, by further inquiry from him and other proper persons, it doth appear, that the said Fort and all the Buildings thereunto belonging are gone to decay beyond repairing, That to rebuild it upon the same plan will amount to at least £21,556.

"And in regard that lands at Harwich have been purchased for fortifying

¹ From the MSS. of the Marquis Townshend. Petitions, Memorials, &c., 1701-1771. Hist. MSS. Commission. 11th Report. Appendix, Part 4.

² From the MSS. of the Marquis Townshend. State Papers, Despatches, &c., 1702-1742. Hist. MSS. Commission. 11th Report. Appendix, Part 4.

³ Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 52, p. 288.

⁴ Major-General Michael Richards.

⁵ Paul Methuen, Secretary of State in the absence of Mr. Stanhope.

⁶ Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 52, p. 302.

the same. We therefore do humble propose that instead of laying out so much money at Landguard Fort, not to exceed the sum of £2,975 12s. 9d.

“To consist of a Battery of 16 or 20 Guns, to be inclosed with a Barrack for 20 or 30 men, with no more ammunition or stores than is necessary for immediate service, the rest to be kept at Harwich for the better explanation of which, we refer to the annexed draughts, reports, etc. It is withal to be observed, that whatsoever scheme is approved of, it will be necessary, to avoid further charges in useless repairs, to have his Majesties Orders to bring the stores and garrison to Harwich till the same can be executed, which stores, storekeeper, Gunners and Gov^r may be lodged in the houses lately purchased. The repairs for which will be but small, provided the company of Invalids with their Officers be quartered in the Town of Harwich.”

Upon this the following orders in council¹ were made :—

“That a Battery of 16 or 20 Guns to be inclosed with a Barrack for 20 or 30 men, be built according to the scheme hereunto annexed, wherein the said principal Officers of the Ordnance are not to exceed the sum of £2,975 15s. 9d., as proposed, and in regard that houses are purchased at Harwich for the use of the Garrison of Landguard Fort. It is further ordered, that during the time of the Building the said Battery and Barrack, the Stores, Storekeeper, Gun^{ns} and Gov^r be removed to Harwich accordingly, and that the Company of Invalids with their Officers be quartered in the said Town of Harwich, during the time of Building aforesaid; and his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, Master General of the Ordnance and the Lords Com^{rs} of the Treasury and his Maj^{ties} Secretary at War are to cause the necessary directions to be given herein as to them may respectively appertain.”

Intimation² of the purport of these orders was sent by the Board of Ordnance to the Mayor of Harwich, and he was requested to “give the necessary directions for Quartering the company of Invalids with their Officers in the town according to the said order, as soon as we shall give the Gov^r notice of our being ready for him.”

The orders were also conveyed to the governor by letter³ dated from Whitehall, December 24, 1716, from the Secretary at War, William Pulteney,⁴ which ran thus :—

“His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, upon reading in Council of a Report from the Board of Ordnance representing the present ruinous condition of Landguard Fort having been pleased to give directions for the

¹ Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 52, p. 303.

² Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 52, p. 304.

³ Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 52, p. 312.

⁴ Created Earl of Bath in 1742.

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FIGURE 1.

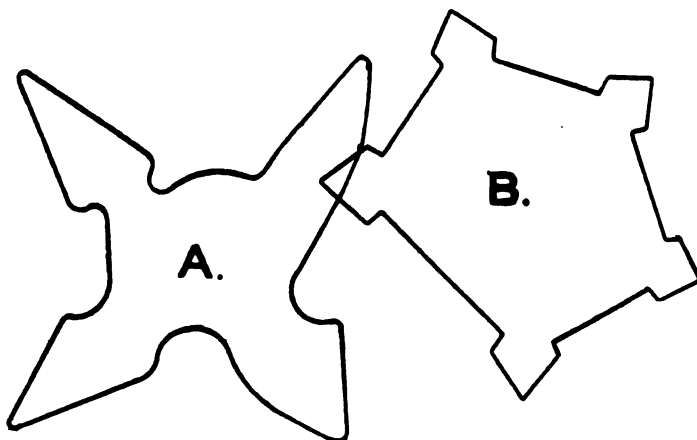


FIG. 1.—OUTLINE PLANS OF THE FORTS OF 1626 (A), AND 1716 (B).

FIGURE 2.

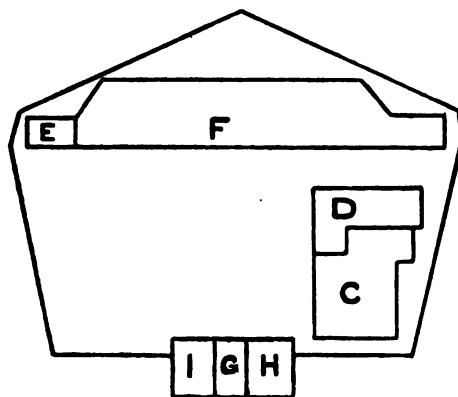


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF INTERIOR OF FORT OF 1716, SHOWING DETAILS OF BARRACKS.
C. Lieutenant-Governor's House. D. Officers' Quarters. E. Hospital. F. Soldiers' Barracks. G. Entrance-Gate, with Chapel over it. H. Cook-house. I. Guard-room.

immediate building of a new Battery there, to be enclosed with a Barraque, and that during the time of building the same the Stores, Storekeeper, Gunners, and Gov^r should be removed to Harwich and lodged in the houses lately purchased there, and that the Company of Invalids should be quartered in the town of Harwich.

"I am commanded to acquaint you herewith, and to signifie to you H.R.H. pleasure that as soon as you shall receive notice from the Board of Ordnance that the houses at Harwich are ready to receive the Officers and stores of the Garrison, you do yourself, with the rest of the Officers, remove thither, and give all manner of assistance towards removing the stores of the Garrison to the place where they shall be appointed to be lodged by the Board of Ordnance, and that you permit the Company of Invalids to march out of the Garrison of Landguard Fort in order to go to Harwich as soon as they shall receive the necessary orders for that purpose, and that you take care likewise to leave sufficient Guard in Landguard Fort for the security of the materials for the said building, which is to be from time to time relieved from the Company of Invalids at Harwich, according to such directions as you shall receive from the Officers of the Board of Ordnance."

Similar orders,¹ dated January 9, 1717, were sent to the Principal Officers of the Ordnance, and to Captain Matthew Draper, "Commanding a Company of Invalids at Landguard Fort."

CHAPTER XV.

THE NEW FORT OF 1716, AND EVENTS UNTIL 1753.

IN the estimates for the year 1717 a sum of £2,975 15s. 9d. was included² for the building of the new fort, which was at once commenced.

The site chosen for it was not identical with that of the old fort, being somewhat nearer the shore of the estuary, and as the new fort was larger than the old one, it necessarily covered a greater area of ground. *Plate 6*, fig. 1, shows the outline of the two forts, built respectively in 1626 and 1716. The new fort was built entirely of red brick, in the Queen Anne style, and was a most imposing structure. The greater part of the outer walls remain to this day, exactly as originally built, and the chief alterations which have since been made consist of changes in interior arrangement, both as regards barracks and guns. The view shown in *plate 7* is taken from a water-colour sketch,³ and shows the fort of 1716 as seen from the S.W., or Harwich side of the harbour.

It will be seen from *plate 6*, fig. 1, that the new fort was what is

¹ Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 52, p. 313.

² "Notes on the early history of the Royal Regiment of Artillery." By Colonel S. Cleaveland, R.A., p. 194.

³ In possession of Mr. F. Mason, North Cliff, Felixstowe.

technically termed a "closed lunette,"¹ with a bastion at each angle. Inside the fort were barracks built of red brick, and in the same general style as the fort itself. They consisted of three blocks of buildings, as shown in *plate 6*, fig. 2.

Plate 8 is a view of the interior of the fort, taken from a water-colour sketch² made in 1769, looking from the front of the block of barracks marked F (*plate 6*, fig. 2) towards the gateway. The house with the railings in front of it, on the left of the picture, is that of the lieutenant-governor, and in the centre of the picture are shown the entrance gate with the chapel over it, the guard-room on the right, and the cook-house on the left; the chapel has now been replaced by another structure, but in other respects the arrangement of this part of the building remains unaltered at the present day.

The casemates³ shown to the right and left of this building under the ramparts of the fortifications are still in existence, but are now utilised as store-rooms, regimental shops, &c. The bastion shown on the extreme right of the picture, with two guns mounted upon it, is the one known as "Holland's" bastion.

These barracks remained standing until the year 1871, but when the office of lieutenant-governor was abolished in 1854, the lieutenant-governor's house (which contained 3 sitting-rooms, 2 best bedrooms, 5 attics, 2 kitchens, 1 office, and 1 ante-room) was converted into ordinary officers' quarters, and the adjoining house, which had until then been used for officers' quarters, was appropriated as offices, store-rooms, &c.

Plate 9 is a landscape view of the fort, from a picture painted by Gainsborough about 1753. The spot from which the painter obtained his view would seem to have been upon Felixstowe cliffs, somewhere near the place where the "Q" Martello tower now stands. The incident connected with the painting of this picture is narrated in chapter 26.

The building shown in the picture as standing to the right of and outside the fort was then the governor's house, but—*sic transit gloria mundi*—it was in or about 1775 converted into a "suttlng house," and is now the canteen building. The town of Harwich is seen in the distance across the harbour at the extreme right of the picture.

The fort was completed in 1720, and was then re-garrisoned by its former occupants—one company of Invalids, which had, during its reconstruction, been in quarters at Harwich. Captain Bacon Morris (*see* p. 104) had then become governor in succession to Hammond, who had died in 1719.

Although the new fort was a fine and imposing structure, its armament

¹ A fortified work of more than four sides, with parapet and ditch all round.

² In possession of Mr. F. Mason, North Cliff, Felixstowe.

³ A roofed enclosure for the protection of men or guns from an enemy's fire.

PLATE VII.



THE FORT OF 1716.

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PLATE VIII.



INTERIOR OF THE FORT—1769.

underwent a great reduction, and though formerly mounting 63 guns, it was now allotted but 20; viz., 10 18-pounders, and 10 9-pounders,¹ with a master-gunner, and 3² instead of 6 gunners as formerly.³

This diminution of force was the result of the carrying out of a scheme, adopted on the recommendation of the Master-General of the Ordnance, in 1716, for reducing the armament of all forts throughout the kingdom, by which means a great saving in expenditure was effected; the number of guns in all the forts of Great Britain, which had previously been 3,219, being thereby reduced to 1,254.⁴

With regard to the fort at Landguard, the reduction of armament has been justified by events, no shot having been fired from it at an enemy since that time. The reduction of armament carried with it some loss of dignity, for, as a consequence, the fort was temporarily deprived of its right to fly the Union Jack as a fortress of importance.

Here, for the benefit of the uninitiated, I may perhaps be allowed to explain that British fortresses are, with regard to right of flying the flag, divided into three classes, as follows, according to the importance of the fort⁵:—

- (a.) Forts where the Union Jack is flown on anniversaries only, or when specially required for saluting purposes.
- (b.) Forts where the Union Jack is flown on Sundays and anniversaries.
- (c.) Forts where the Union Jack is flown daily.

Landguard has long since recovered its temporarily lost right, and is now not only included in class (c), but is also one of the few flag-stations at which the Royal Standard may be flown on royal anniversaries and State occasions; it is one, moreover, of the 23 saluting-stations in Great Britain.

In 1722 Daniel Defoe visited Harwich and Landguard, and described the harbour in his "Tour through the Eastern counties of England" as "one of the best and securest in England." "It is," he wrote "covered at the entrance by a strong fort and a battery of guns to the seaward, just as at Tilbury, and which sufficiently defend the mouth of the river. And there is a particular felicity in this fortification, viz., that though the entrance or opening of the river into the sea is very wide, especially at high-water, at least two miles, if not three over; yet the channel, which is deep, and in which the ships must keep and come to the harbour, is narrow, and lies only on the side of the fort, so that all the ships which come in or go out

¹ Ordnance Store Warrant Book, 1727, p. 1.

² Ordnance Warrant Book, Vol. 53, p. 263.

³ Ordnance Warrant Book, Vol. 52, p. 56.

⁴ "Notes on the early history of the Royal Regiment of Artillery." By Colonel S. Cleaveland, R.A., p. 193.

⁵ Queen's Regulations for the Army, 1894, Sect. 3, para. 57.

must come close under the guns of the fort—that is to say under the command of their shot.

“The fort is on the Suffolk side of the bay or entrance, but stands so far into the sea upon the point of a sand or shoal, which runs out towards the Essex side, as it were, laps over the mouth of that haven like a blind to it; and our surveyors of the country affirm it to be in the county of Essex. The making of this place, which was formerly no other than a sand in the sea, solid enough for the foundation of so good a fortification, has not been done but by many year’s labour, often repairs, and an infinite expense of money, but it is now so firm that nothing of storms and high tides, or such things as make the sea dangerous to these kind of works, can affect it.”

A curious instance of the conflict between civil and military rights is recorded¹ in October 1739, when some wreckage from a ship wrecked near the fort was washed ashore there, and so became by manorial right the lawful perquisite of Sir John Barker, the then Lord of the manor of Walton-with-Trimley, of which manor the foreshore upon which the wreckage was cast is parcel.

Captain Hayes, who was then lieutenant-governor, appears, however, to have disputed the Lord’s claim, for, when Sir John Barker’s men came to take possession of the wreckage, Hayes “sent out a file of musketeers who opposed the Lord’s servants and hindered them.” This led to an action for trespass brought by Sir John Barker against Hayes, and tried at the Assizes at Bury St. Edmund’s in the following year, when the Judge “severely reprimanded the Deputy Governor for asserting his pretended right in a Military Way.” The Lord of the manor obtained a verdict against Hayes, and was awarded 3*l.* 10*s.* as damages.

In the year 1745 an increase of 10 18 pounder guns² was made to the armament of the fort.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORSHIP OF PHILIP THICKNESSE.

FROM 1753 to 1766 the lieutenant-governorship of the fort was held by the notorious Philip Thicknesse (*see* p. 115), and during the whole of that period it would seem that the scandalous actions and quarrelsome disposition of its resident ruler must have made life at Landguard anything but pleasant for those who were from time to time quartered there.

Some indication of what had been the state of affairs there at this epoch may be gathered from an anonymous MS. in verse,³ which appears

¹ From a Court Roll of the Manor of Walton-with-Trimley. October 23, 1740.

² Ordnance Store Office Book. October 24, 1745.

³ Add. MSS. Brit. Museum, No. 24,669.



LANDSCAPE VIEW OF THE FORT—1753.

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to have been written in or about 1767 (*see* Appendix, p. 131). It is entitled "The Humours of Landguard Fort" and, although a work of no literary merit and in many respects unsuitable for appearance in print, it shows clearly that the rule of Lieutenant-governor Thicknesse had been both unpleasant and discreditable.

The first officially recorded incident of the many which led up to and eventually terminated in the retirement from office of this turbulent man occurred on September 14, 1761, on which date a General Court Martial,¹ held at the fort under the presidency of Colonel Francis Vernon,² investigated a charge preferred by the lieutenant governor against a Captain William Lynch, of the Eastern battalion of the Suffolk Militia, then stationed at Landguard, of having absented himself from duty, during a time of war, without permission. The Court acquitted the prisoner with honour, but its finding was not confirmed by the King, the reason assigned for his refusal to confirm it being "because the charge stands clear, and uncontradicted by the prisoner." Lynch was, however, released, and Thicknesse was simultaneously reprimanded for "want of temper!"

Thicknesse, greatly irritated at this result, permitted his unbridled anger against Colonel Vernon—soon afterwards created Lord Orwell—to betray him into a libellous attack upon the character of that nobleman, and thereby brought himself into the grasp of the criminal law. Thicknesse had sent a wooden gun to Lord Orwell, as a present, intending thereby to cast an imputation upon his personal courage, as an officer, and this constituted the libel. He was tried at the Assizes held at Bury St. Edmund's in August 1763,³ on an information granted by the Court of King's Bench for publishing a false and scandalous libel reflecting upon the Right Hon. Lord Orwell; convicted of the offence, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment, to pay a fine of £100, and to find sureties for good behaviour for a period of seven years.⁴

During the enforced absence of Thicknesse from Landguard whilst taking his trial and undergoing his consequent imprisonment for the libel, a Captain James Marsh⁵ was sent to officiate as temporary lieutenant-governor of the fort. That officer also fell into trouble, and he, too, after resumption of the post by Thicknesse, underwent the ordeal of a court martial, under circumstances which are mentioned in chapter 23.

The strained condition of relations existing between Thicknesse and the officers of the garrison towards the end of 1764, and the critical

¹ "Proceedings of a General Court Martial held at Land-Guard Fort, the 14th day of September 1761." Brit. Museum Library. Press number 6,785, eee, 13.

² Created Baron Orwell, April 7, 1762.

³ The Annual Register, 1763. Vol. 6, p. 91.

⁴ The Ipswich Journal, February 18, 1764.

⁵ Commanded the 43rd regiment of Foot in 1775.

situation caused thereby, are clearly shown in the following letter addressed by him at that time to the Secretary at War.¹

“ Landguard Fort, December the 3rd, 1764.

“ Sir,

“ When I had the honour to wait upon you in Town, I took the Liberty to acquaint you, how very critical and dangerous my present Situation is.

“ Traps are daily laid to ensnare me in a Breach of the Peace ; one of which is of so flagrant a nature, that I cannot doubt your Excuse in laying it before you, or that you will refuse me the means of proper Redress. Ensign John Camble, Practitioner Engineer to this Garison, was, or pretended to be, so offended at my giving an Order out, that no soldier should be sent to Ipswich (13 miles) without my Knowledge, that he came to me, (having a Witness at a small Distance) and made use of many provoking Expressions, in order to irritate a Temper naturally warm. But, finding this Method ineffectual, he challenged me out to fight ; but, upon my telling him, the Laws of the Land, and that of Nature, (Self-Defence) were the Laws I would strictly adhere to, he for that Time left me. But, on Thursday last, he came to me on the Battery in the Garison, brandishing a stick at me—and in a most insolent and threatening Manner, of which I have Witness, told me—Sir, this is not a proper Place, with such Action and Manner, that the Bystanders have sworn, they consider it as a Menace, and Challenge to fight.

“ Now, Sir, circumstanced as I am, insulted in the Execution of my Duty, and that too by an Officer immediately under my Command, I humbly apprehend it is my Duty to lay it before you ; and I do most humbly beseech you to lay it before his Majesty.

“ If I have abused the Trust vested in me, or exerted any unlawful Authority over the Troops under my Command, I ought to be punished ; but a conscious Innocence prompts me to wish an enquiry may be made after these people who have so violated the Martial Law, and trampled upon my Authority, have answered for theirs.

“ The present unfortunate Gentleman, under an Arrest, would never have been so, but for the Advice of this Mr. Camble ; and he it was who spirited the poor Man up to write me a Letter in the Afternoon, to recall the Submission he had offered me in the Morning. I would not thus repeatedly trouble you but from a thorough sense that it can have no End, till our Disputes are settled by better Judges than ourselves.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.,”

(sd.) “ PHIL. THICKNESSE.”

¹ Welbore Ellis. Created Baron Mendip, 1794.

The Secretary at War seems to have made no reply to the foregoing letter, but he soon afterwards wrote to Thicknesse as follows, concerning charges which had been made against him, as lieutenant-governor :—

“ War Office, 28th Feb. 1765.

“ Sir,

“ Several Complaints having been transmitted to me against you, as Lieutenant-Governor of Land-Guard Fort, I send you Extracts of the material Charges, and shall defer taking his Majesty's Commands thereupon, until I shall have received your Answer, which I hope will be soon. They are as follows :—

“ 1. For supporting the Soldiers in their Disobedience to their Commissioned Officers.

“ 2. For behaving unlike a Gentleman and an Officer in abusing and grossly treating the Commissioned Officers doing Duty in the Garrison.

“ 3. For ordering the Commissioned Officers not to Countenance, or shew any Favour, or even to speak to each other, on Pain of his Displeasure.

“ 4. For allowing, and even ordering the Soldiers of the Garrison to hire their Guards,¹ and that frequently for his private Services only.

“ 5. For brewing Beer and selling the same in the Garrison on his own Account, and even exacting Five Shillings a Barrel on Beer purchased and there sold by the Sutler.

“ 6. For Spoiling and Destroying his Majesty's Stores in the Fort: And

“ 7. for making out a Route² by his own Authority, and ordering several private Men of the Company of Invalids to march thereon to London.”

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

(sd.) “ W. ELLIS.”

The first practical outcome of these complaints by and against the lieutenant-governor was the issue of a warrant,³ dated June 8, 1765, for trial by General Court Martial of Ensign Camble,⁴ on an allegation that “many disputes have happened in Our Garrison of Landguard Fort between Lieut. Governor Thicknesse, and Ensign John Camble of Our Corps of Engineers.”

¹ To provide a substitute, by paying him, to take one's turn of guard duty, a custom which still obtains in the army. The rate charged in 1765 was one shilling, but at the present day the rate is about double. The arrangement is, of course, a private one, and is not officially recognised.

² An order for the movement of troops, specifying the route to be followed, and the places to be halted at.

³ Military Entry Book. Vol. 28, pp. 140-142.

⁴ Camble was still serving in the army in 1782 as a captain-lieutenant.

The warrant contained three charges, viz:—"1st. For disobeying the Governor's Orders. 2nd. For challenging the Lieut. Governor out to fight in consequence of his giving out a lawful and necessary order. 3rd. For writing and reading to the Soldiers and then pasting the said writing upon the Garrison Pump, a most insolent and abusive Paper, threatening the Lieut. Governor's Life, and insinuating therein that he is a most villainous Traitor and Coward and otherwise defaming his character to the soldiers of the Garrison."

The "insolent and abusive paper" alluded to in the 3rd charge, a copy of which the lieutenant-governor caused to be published in his garrison orders of February 8, 1765,¹ for which day he issued as the garrison *parole* the not altogether inappropriate word "Felony," was as follows:—

"With the utmost Detestation and Abhorrence, &c., &c., To His Majesty's Governor commanding at Land Guard Fort.

"Declares his fixed and unalterable Determination to *destroy, maim, lame, cripple, wound*, and by all manner of means that Loyalty, Conduct, Skill, and real *Courage* shall, or may devise, will on all occasions think it his indisputable Duty to extirpate those *traiterous*, evil designing, and *infamous Rabbits*, and other Vermin, &c., &c., that beleaguer and infest His Majesty's aforesaid Fortress, &c., &c., in any Part or Parts of it's Works, and particularly a most *villainous black and green Rabbit*,² who seems more mischievous and suttler than the others, &c., &c."

There is, unfortunately, no record to be found of the proceedings at, and result of this Court Martial, but it was within a few weeks followed by another to try Thicknesse himself upon several serious charges. This second Court Martial sat at the Horse Guards on July 3, 1765, under Major General John Parslow as president, the other members of the court being three Colonels, seven Lieut. Colonels, and four Majors.

The charges upon which Thicknesse was arraigned were, "1st. Supporting and countenancing the Soldiers of the Company of Invalids doing Duty within the Garrison of Land-Guard Fort in disobeying their Commissioned Officers, and depriving such Officers of their necessary Command and Authority. 2nd. Grossly entreating³ the Commissioned Officers doing Duty in the said Garrison, and using such Language towards them, as is unbecoming between Officers and Gentlemen. 3rd. Enjoining the Commissioned Officers doing Duty in the said Garrison not to countenance, or show any favour to each other, on pain of his Displeasure, in Violation of an express Order for promoting Harmony

¹ "Proceedings of a General Court Martial upon the trial of Lieutenant-Governor Philip Thicknesse." London, 1765.

² Presumably Thicknesse.

³ Possibly a misprint for "treating."

amongst the Officers of the said Garrison. 4th. Knowing and allowing the said Soldiers in the said Garrison to hire their Guards, and that for his own private Services. 5th. Causing Beer to be brewed and sold by his own Authority and for his private Interest, to the Soldiers of the Garrison; and also exacting or taking Five Shillings per Barrel on Beer purchased or sold in the said Garrison by the Sutler. 6th. Opening private Letters directed to Commissioned Officers and other persons in the said Garrison. 7th. Spoiling and destroying his Majesty's Stores in the said Garrison. 8th. Making out a Rout by his own Authority, and ordering several of the private Soldiers of the said company of Invalids doing Duty in the said Garrison to march to London thereupon."

The proceedings of this Court Martial which lasted for six days, were printed *in extenso*, and there is a copy of them in the British Museum Library (Press No. 6785, eee 13). Most of the officers of the garrison, and a large number of the soldiers, were called as witnesses.

The Court found Thicknesse Guilty upon the 1st and 3rd charges, but acquitted him upon the others. In respect of the charges upon which he was found guilty he was sentenced to "be publicly and severely reprimanded in such a manner as his Majesty shall be pleased to direct."

The sentence with the King's orders thereon was communicated to Thicknesse by the Judge-Advocate¹ on August 24, 1765, in a letter which concludes thus:—"I am thereupon commanded to acquaint you that his Majesty has been pleased to remit that part of the sentence which respects your being publicly reprimanded, but has thought fit, for the sake of example, to order that the sentence together with his royal Approbation thereof, shall be transmitted from this office to the commanding-officer at Land-Guard Fort, with direction that the same be declared in the public orders of the Garrison."

Thicknesse then returned to Landguard to resume his duties, but in the following month, the Secretary at War, Lord Barrington,² who had assumed that office in July, *vice* Mr. Ellis, wrote to him as follows:—

" War Office, September 18, 1765.

" Sir,

"The Minutes of some late Courts Martial, and the Sentence passed on you, having convinced his Majesty, that it is not fitting that you should command in any of his Forts: I am ordered to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you do not reside at Land-Guard Fort, or any place depending thereon, till farther order."

¹ Dr. Charles Gould.

² William Wildman Barrington, 2nd Viscount. Secretary at War, 1765 to 1778.

After this it is not surprising to find that the office of lieutenant-governor was soon transferred to other hands. Thicknesse himself asserts that he resigned his office in 1766, with the King's permission, in favour of Captain Anketell Singleton, (*see* p. 117) "who," he writes, "paid me £2,000 down, and promised to insure his life for £400 more which he paid me with interest for eight years afterwards."¹ This may be true, and he may have subsequently been granted permission to resign, but whether dismissed from, or permitted to resign the office, it is certain that he vacated it early in 1766, the fort then passing into the charge of Captain Singleton—a man of entirely different character and temperament.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM 1766 TO 1854.

SHORTLY after the year 1770 the capabilities of the locality for artillery practice seem to have been suggested to our Government, and that such practice might without danger be there carried out over both sea and land ranges.

There is in the library of the Royal Artillery Mess at Woolwich, a manuscript² record of some "Experiments of Artillery at Landguard Fort, under the direction of Lieutenant-General Williamson,"³ August 1774."

The record is worth inspection if only on account of the admirable manner in which the results of each round are tabulated. The practice took place in August, from an 18-pounder gun, firing an 18lb. round shot, or a 38lb. long shot, with charges varying from 4 to 8 lbs.; and from a 42-pounder, firing a round shot only, weighing 42lbs., with charges varying from 6 to 8 lbs.

The results are rather amusing to read nowadays, as there are not only columns for the distance of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd grazes, but also a column headed "Roll." The experiments were evidently carried out over a land range in order to enable distances to be measured. Some rounds are recorded as "rolled into the sea," "lodged in the marsh," "ditto in a ditch." In all probability the practice was carried out over Langer Common, firing directly towards the Felixstowe cliffs, where the "Q" Martello tower now stands.

There is in the same book a further record of "Experiments made at Landguard Fort, in the month of August 1776, by order of the Right Honble and Honble Board of Ordnance, with shot and shells constructed

¹ "Memoirs and Anecdotes of Philip Thicknesse, late Lieutenant-Governor of Land Guard Fort, and unfortunately father to George Touchet, Baron Audley." London, 1788, 2 vols.

² R.A. Mess (Woolwich) Library. No. 1,157.

³ No. 31, Kane's List of Officers of the Royal Artillery, 1891.

by Doctor Pollok (called long shot and shells), against our common round shot and shells, from the following pieces of brass ordnance, vizt. :

- A 42 pr., length 9 ft. 6 in., weight 68 cwt.
- A 24 pr., length 9 ft. 6 in., weight 52 cwt.
- A 18 pr., length 10 ft., weight 52 cwt.
- A 12 pr., length 9 ft. 6 in., weight 45 cwt.
- A 10 inch sea service mortar, weight 32 cwt.
- A 10 inch land service mortar, weight 32 cwt."

In these experiments the long shot weighed, approximately, double the round shot, but the latter "ranged" about 20 per cent. further than the long shot. Three columns of the report are headed "First fall of the shot," "Range rolled to," and "Medium distance of the first fall."¹ This practice was carried out over a land range, as the sea is never once mentioned. Two or three rounds are recorded as "lodged in a hill." The report is signed by "Samuel Tovey,² Captain, Royal Regt. of Artillery."

In 1780 experiments were again carried out on a much larger scale, and orders³ were issued that the guns under-mentioned should be sent to Landguard for the purpose :—

"Iron ordnance with ship carriages compleat—a 6-pounder, a 4-pounder, and a 3-pounder.

Carronades⁴ with sliding carriages compleat—a 24-pounder, an 18-pounder, and a 12-pounder.

Brass ordnance on travelling carriages, with side-arms compleat—2 12-pounders, Desaguliers⁵ pattern, and 2 12-pounders medium.

One 10 inch howitzer and carriage."

It is also recorded⁶ that there were "a great many other guns and carriages getting ready for Landguard Fort," which were all sent from Woolwich by water.

It may be here incidentally mentioned that as a result of the experiments carried out in that year the superiority of grape over langridge shot⁶ was so clearly proved that the use of the latter was ordered to be discontinued in the Navy.⁷

Great Britain was then at war with France, Spain, and Holland, and it was thought prudent by the Government of the day to strengthen the

¹ *i.e.*, mean distance of first impact.

² No. 318, Kane's List of Officers of the Royal Artillery, 1891.

³ Office of Ordnance Letter-Book, July 10 and 18, 1780.

⁴ Short iron guns, named after the Carron ironworks in Scotland, where they were first made. They were adopted as naval guns in 1779, and called by the sailors "smashers."

⁵ Designed by Gen. Thomas Desaguliers, R.A., F.R.S., who was chief firemaster. He died in 1780.

⁶ A kind of projectile, used solely by the navy, for firing at boats, and at the rigging of ships: it was made of old bolts, nails, and pieces of iron bound together.

⁷ Admiralty Office Letter-Book, December 14, 1780.

defences of the fort, not only on the flanks, but also in rear, as a precaution against attack by land.

A very elaborate system of defence works, full details of which are given in *plate 10*, was accordingly designed, and ordered by the Master-General of the Ordnance¹ to be constructed forthwith. These works were completed in 1782, and as it does not appear that the redoubts, or even any portion of the works, were ever armed with guns, in all probability they were simply intended to serve as barracks, and as cover for infantry should occasion arise for increasing the garrison, as in fact proved to be the case later on. The "Rainham" redoubt, shown in the map, was so named after Lord Townshend's seat at Rainham, (now spelt Raynham) in Norfolk.

These works were maintained until after the second peace of Paris, (November 1815), but have now entirely disappeared. Traces, however, still remain on Landguard Common, near the present quarters for married soldiers, of earth embankments and walls, which are, no doubt, the remains of the old parapets.

The water-course, shown in *plate 10*, is distinctly traceable at the present time, and has a marshy bottom which still fills with water in a heavy rainfall. This water-course, or ditch, was used, in case of necessity, for inundating the landward approach to the fort by letting in the water from the river, and the "*tête du pont*"² shown on the map clearly proves that the inundation so formed had to be crossed by a road of some kind which it was considered necessary to protect. If there was a bridge it was only a temporary one, but most probably there was only a causeway, as indeed there is at the present day.

In a water-colour painting of the entrance gate, made in 1791 by Captain Hanchett, the fort ditch is shown laid out and planted with foliage trees, like a garden, with grass lawn and gravel paths. According to the drawing the trees were at least 30 feet high.

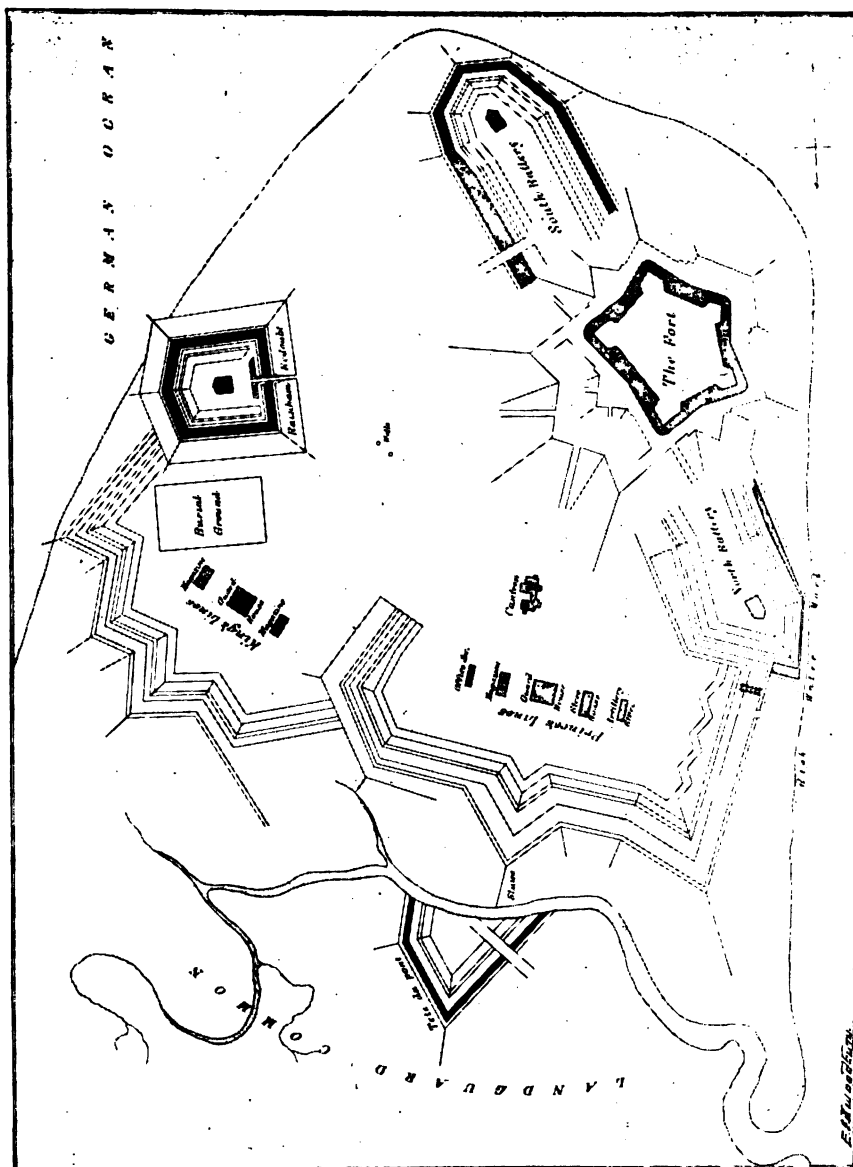
Peace with France having been concluded by treaty signed at Versailles in 1783, the next ten years elapsed without any occurrence at the fort requiring special notice, and, although in 1793 war again broke out between England and France, Landguard was not particularly disturbed by it.

In 1803, however, on the resumption of hostilities, which had been for a short time suspended by the treaty of Amiens in the previous year, the Militia was embodied as a measure of defence against Napoleon's threatened invasion, and until the disbandment of that force in 1815, we find regiment after regiment of Militia employed in garrisoning the fort, in addition to its normal garrison.

It was in 1804 that the Invalid companies were abolished, their places in the several forts they had occupied being then taken by bodies of Militia.

¹ George, 4th Viscount Townshend. Died 1807.

² Anglicé, Bridge-head. A work built to protect a bridge from attack by an enemy.



PLAN OF THE FORT AND DEFENCE WORKS—1785.

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PLATE XI.



EXTERIOR OF FORT SHOWING "BEAUCLEK'S" BATTERY 1854.

The Militia regiments garrisoning Landguard were, first, in 1803, the Cambridgeshire; then the 3rd Lancashire, and next the South Essex. At the end of 1804 the 15th battalion of the Army of the Reserve disembarked at Landguard from Scotland and took over the barracks in the fort, and at that time there was also in garrison a company of Artillery, which furnished a detachment for a camp, which had been formed at Clacton, in Essex.

On the disbandment of the Militia at the peace of 1815, the garrison of Landguard Fort was reduced to a company of Artillery, or of Infantry, and it so remained until 1854, when, war with Russia having been declared, the Militia was again embodied, and the fort garrison increased by the arrival of the Suffolk Artillery Militia.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE FORT OF 1716.

In 1850 the defences of the fort had been strengthened by the construction of a battery on the *glacis*¹ of the two faces of the fort, which command the entrance channel from the sea into the harbour. It was called "Beauclerk's" battery, after Lord George Beauclerk (*see* p. 105), who had been governor of the fort from 1753 to 1768. The battery had emplacements for 11 guns, and mounted 4 8 inch S.B. guns of 65 cwt., and 6 32 pounder S.B. guns, all on wood sliding carriages, with iron slides. In the centre of the battery was a 10 inch mortar, behind which stood a portable iron furnace for heating shot. A view of the battery as seen from the outside of the fort is given in *plate* 11. This sketch shows the fort as seen from a spot near where the present light-house stands: it was made in 1853 by Colonel H. Mussenden Leathes,² of Herringfleet Hall, near Lowestoft, who was then serving as a captain in the Suffolk Artillery Militia, which held its annual trainings at Landguard. The bastion on which the flag-staff stands—on the right of the sketch—is the one known as the "King's." "Beauclerk's" battery disappeared when the fort was dismantled and reconstructed in 1871, and no trace of it now remains.

Colonel Leathes has very kindly furnished some notes of his recollections of the fort as he knew it in 1853-58, which are as follows:—

"The Fort possessed two features which one would have hardly expected to see there, considering that it was built on a tongue of sand.

"The first of these was a beautiful garden³ abounding in fruit—figs predominating. In the centre of the garden, which was on the north side

¹ The sloping ground surrounding a fort, on the further, *i.e.*, the enemy's side of the ditch; so arranged that the attackers may be fully exposed to the defenders' fire.

² Son of the late Colonel H. M. Leathes, Royal Artillery (Kane's List, No. 1,263), who served in Mercer's battery at Waterloo.

³ The garden was to the left of the fort as seen in *plate* 11.

of the fort, was a small pond with a fountain, but in my memory this latter had ceased to act. The pond, I remember, was full of gold fish, which were thoroughly acclimatised to all weathers.

"The other curiosity of the fort was a large tamarisk tree, some 30 feet in height, with wide-spreading branches, actually growing on the top of the ramparts in the south-west bastion. I believe there was not another such tamarisk tree to be seen anywhere in Great Britain.¹

"Until 1850 there was no road-way leading from the fort in any direction, but Major G. D. Warburton,² R.A.,—then stationed at the fort—had one made by the garrison defaulters for a distance of about quarter of a mile out of the fort; this road was gradually continued by later Commanding Officers until the development of Felixstowe completed the system which now exists.

"The fort, which was then an imposing pile of buildings, was by no means an unpleasant place to be quartered in. The large amount of wild shooting (golden plover, snipe, and wild-fowl) to be obtained in the winter, made the place enjoyable for sporting officers.

"The only buildings outside the fort—besides the "P" Martello tower on the common—until Felixstowe was reached, were the Canteen, a cottage, a stable for 2 horses, and the garrison boat-house. Landguard of to-day bears no resemblance whatever to the Landguard of 50 years ago.

"We had an excellent fives-court, and a billiard-room, the table being taken over by each successive company of Artillery or Infantry that garrisoned the fort.

"A large and lucrative trade was for years carried on, along the beach, in coprolite, which was found in abundance; shark's teeth, amber, and jet were also always to be found on the beach after gales from the east.

"On Landguard Common there used to be, and, I believe still are, a wonderful variety of wild flowers—some of them very beautiful; and when the Suffolk Artillery Militia was formed in 1853, the regimental badge on its uniform was the "sea-thistle" found at Landguard. This badge remained on the sabre-tasche and pouch until the Militia ceased to wear silver lace and changed to the gold lace of the Royal Artillery."

At the conclusion of peace with Russia in 1856, the Militia was disembodied and once again life at Landguard relapsed into its old monotonous routine.

The garrison at that time consisted of one company of artillery, No. 1 of the 7th battalion,³ which had arrived at Landguard in July 1856 on its return from the Crimea: it was commanded by Captain E. H. Fisher,⁴ and

¹ The tree is shown in *plate 11*, on the bastion to the left.

² No. 1829, Kane's List of Officers of the Royal Artillery, 1891. Major Warburton was also M.P. for Harwich at that time.

³ Formed in 1756. Now 3rd Field Battery.

⁴ No. 1934, Kane's List of the Officers of the Royal Artillery, 1891.

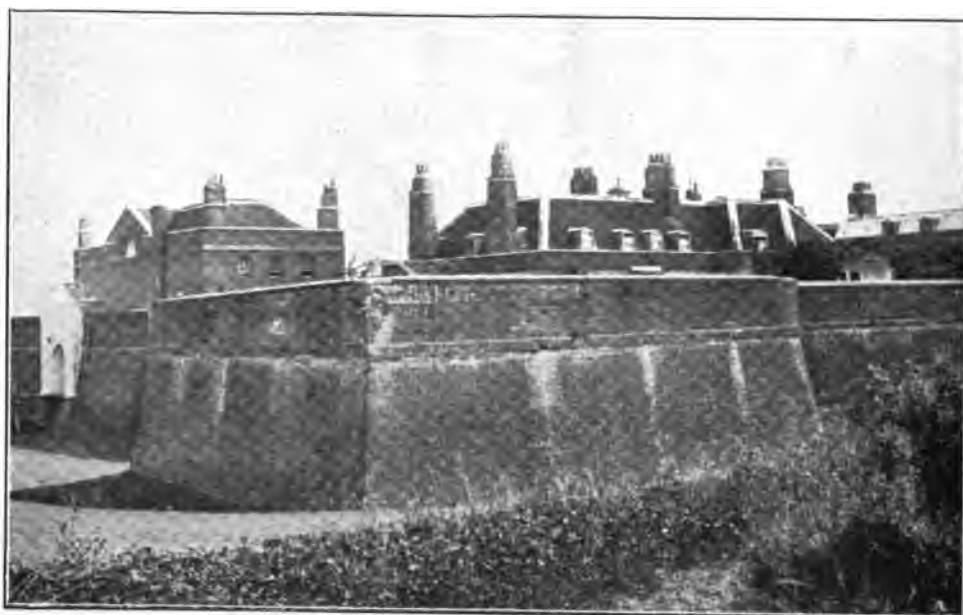
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PLATE XII.



VIEWS OF THE FORT—ABOUT 1865.

[To face p. 81.

its other officers were, 2nd Captain C. G. W. Lascelles,¹ Lieutenants W. C. Nangle,² J. H. Edgar³ (who in 1859 entered Holy Orders), and E. H. Thurlow.⁴ This company remained at Landguard until November 1857 and was then transferred to Woolwich.

From November 1857 until the beginning of 1870 the fort was garrisoned by detachments of infantry, furnished from the 4th and 8th dépôt battalions, then stationed at Colchester, which were sent to Landguard from time to time for musketry practice. These dépôt battalions—of which there were 11—were formed by the dépôts of all battalions serving abroad. They do not now exist, but to a certain extent they resembled the Provisional battalions of the present day.

An officer, who was stationed at Landguard with one of these detachments in 1857-58, has told me that there were then in vogue several more or less *un-veracious* legends about the fort, one of which, entitled, "The Ghost of Landguard Fort," by Lieut. Colonel Garland Matthews, appeared in the Christmas Number of the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* for 1889. The story had some foundation in fact, as my informant said that the subject matter was often alluded to in his hearing.

In the year 1866 some 8 or 9 men of the Coast Brigade of the Royal Artillery were added to the garrison, for duties especially connected with the armament of the fort.

In 1870-71 the infantry detachments of the garrison were furnished from time to time by the 16th (2nd battalion), 27th, 60th (4th battalion), and 81st regiments, whose head-quarters were at Colchester.

Two views of the fort are shown in *plate 12* from photographs taken in the sixties. The upper one shows the interior of the fort looking towards the block of officers' quarters, the house with the porch in front being the old lieutenant-governor's house, and the building on the right the guard-room with the chapel over it. Comparing this view with *plate 8*, it will be seen that the interior of the fort in 1869 was practically the same as it had been in 1769.

The lower view is of the fort as seen from outside, looking from the north. The bastion in the fore-ground is that which is now called the "Chapel" bastion, and looking along the ditch on the left of the picture, the draw-bridge and gateway, by which the fort is entered, are visible. The chapel building is also seen, above the gateway. One cannot help being struck with the appearance of trees, grown to a fair height, inside the fort. There are no trees now.

¹ No. 2224, Kane's List of the Officers of the Royal Artillery, 1891.

² No. 2253, Kane's List of the Officers of the Royal Artillery, 1891.

³ No. 2540, Kane's List of the Officers of the Royal Artillery, 1891.

⁴ No. 2572, Kane's List of the Officers of the Royal Artillery, 1891.

The armament of the fort at that time, excepting the guns already mentioned as mounted in "Beauclerk's" battery (*see* p. 79), consisted only of two 32 pounder S.B. guns of 56 cwt; and three 12 pounder carronades of 6 cwt., for saluting purposes.

In 1871 the War Office decided that the fort should be entirely reconstructed, re-built, and re-armed. This, of course, necessitated the withdrawal of the Infantry detachment, and for the next five years—the period occupied in re-building the fort—the garrison consisted only of 7 men of the Coast Brigade, Royal Artillery, who merely acted as caretakers of the guns, and stores.

Great structural alterations were made, both as to the fortifications, and as to the buildings inside the fort, the whole of which latter were pulled down. Portions of the outer walls of the old fort were, however, preserved, and remain standing to this day.

With the disappearance of barracks, lieutenant-governor's house, and chapel, the ancient glory and traditions of Landguard Fort may be said to have "gone under." There is nothing in the fort of to-day to recall its past history. True, there is still a "King's" bastion, but nothing to recall the name of the monarch from whom it takes its designation; true again it is that a "Holland's" bastion still exists, but again nothing to indicate the origin of its name. The names "Queen's" bastion, and "Warwick's" bastion, have been permitted to sink into unmerited oblivion.

Surely the memory of grand traditions should not be allowed to disappear? Why should not every soldier whom duty calls to serve in Landguard Fort still find within it some permanent record of the good service done there in the days of our fighting forefathers? something to remind them of Darell, of Lyttelton, and other distinguished officers who have served our country, within and around its walls? Let, at least, the names of the ancient bastions be recorded on the modern ramparts. The preservation of noble traditions and by-gone glories should never be neglected by British rulers, and the memory of such when brought home to the soldier who at the call of duty enters upon temporary residence in somewhat dismal Landguard Fort may, perchance, in some measure reconcile him to the endurance of what might otherwise be possibly regarded by some as temporary banishment to a first-class penal settlement. Let the soldier feel when he quits it that if he has not had an opportunity of conferring honour upon the fort, yet that the fort has at least conferred honour upon him; a sentiment which lapse of knowledge of its ancient history has hitherto rendered it difficult to foster.

The dismantling and rebuilding of the fort in and after 1871 led up indirectly to an extraordinary episode in its history, a concise account of which is given in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIX.¹

CIVIL WAR AT LANDGUARD—1871 TO 1875.

THIS chapter relates, not to war resulting in bloodshed, but to a conflict bloodless on both sides, although it was doubtless of an expensive nature financially.

The site of the fort was—it will be remembered—anciently surrounded on all sides by foreshore and common land, appurtenant to the manor of Walton-cum-Trimley, the lordship of which carried with it many seignorial rights and privileges.

In 1797 a dispute arose between the then lord of the manor and the officers of His Majesty's Ordnance, as to the respective rights of the lord of the manor on the one hand, and the officers of the Crown on the other, over certain parts of Langer Common. This dispute was settled at the time by the granting by the lord of the manor to the Crown of a lease of rights of user of Langer Dry Common for military purposes for 999 years, at a small annual rent, reserving, however, to the lord, certain manorial rights and privileges specified in the lease.

In or about 1867 the manor passed by sale and purchase from its then owner, the Duke of Hamilton, to Colonel George Tomline, of Orwell Park, near Ipswich, formerly M.P. for the borough of Grimsby, a wealthy man of exceptionally strong will and imperious temper: and, before many years had elapsed, this great territorial magnate came into frequent collision with the Secretary of State for War over alleged encroachments, of many kinds, by the War Department, upon his seignorial rights as lord of the manor—many of such alleged encroachments being, however, of an exceedingly trivial character—and, instead of appealing at the outset to the law to obtain redress for his supposed grievances, he almost invariably proceeded to redress them for himself by a process which is usually called taking the law into one's own hands.

One of his principal grievances against the Department was that, in adopting measures to increase the flow of fresh water to the fort, the Royal Engineers were said to have diverted for a few yards—or it may have been for a few feet only—from its ancient course, a certain pipe through which water had been conducted to the fort from a spot called "The Garrison Rood or Spring," ever since the building of the original fort in 1628.

Instead, however, of appealing to the law to remedy his supposed grievance, this imperious landowner promptly severed the pipe, not only at the spot where it had been diverted from its original course, but also

¹ This chapter has been written by Colonel J. H. Josselyn, V.D., Hon. Colonel of the 1st Volunteer battalion of the Suffolk regiment.

actually at the fountain-head, within the bounds of Government property, viz., the "Garrison Rood" itself, thus causing, of course, terrible inconvenience to the garrison of the fort by cutting off their supply of fresh water.

Her Majesty's Government thereupon brought the Attorney-General into action and in course of time the violated right of the Crown was vindicated by a decree of the Court of Chancery, which even the great territorial magnate himself feared to disregard or disobey.

Colonel Tomline's high-handed methods naturally caused no little stir in the locality, and soon after the episode of the cutting of the pipe there appeared in a local newspaper¹ a witty article, the authorship of which has been, and, there is reason to believe, correctly, attributed to the clever sarcastic pen of the late Colonel Henry Jervis-White-Jervis,² Royal Artillery, who was at that time M.P. for the borough of Harwich.

The article referred to was headed "Civil War in England," and ran as follows :—

"The *Times* in one of its able articles on the Civil War in Spain (November 27, 1874), stated that 'as it was the only thing of the kind going on in the world just now, if we excepted the phantasmagoria of the Civil War in La Plata, it consequently attracted an amount of attention very flattering to the national pride of Spain.'

"That the great Leviathan of the press should have endeavoured day after day to rivet our attention to Spain doubtless arose from motives of the deepest policy.

"The *Times* is the representative of the financial world. Civil War, whatever may be its merits, is ruinous to the financial prosperity of any nation. It has, therefore, perhaps been wise on the part of the *Times*, so thoroughly informed on all subjects, to have kept dark as long as possible the fact that within the realm of Her Majesty a Civil War of the most unprecedented character has been raging for over twelve months, and has culminated in the signal defeat of Her Majesty's Forces, and the surrender of one of our most important strongholds.³

"Startling as the fact is, and painful as the admission is, it is useless to attempt to conceal any longer from our fellow subjects what is now known to the world at large.

"In the south-east of that part of her Majesty's dominions known as Anglia, inhabited by the south folk, dwells a man of substance,⁴ known as the Lord of Walton-cum-Trimley. It is reputed that he is not a native of that part of the country, but of the more northern districts of Mercia, where

¹ *Ipswich Journal*, December 5, 1874.

² No. 2069, Kane's List of the Officers of the Royal Artillery, 1891.

³ Landguard Fort.

⁴ Colonel G. Tomline, of Orwell Park, Ipswich.

his grandfather acquired great wealth, with a portion of which this lordship was purchased by the grandson in 1867. These manors had, in olden times, belonged to the Kings of Anglia, and their new possessor became endowed with many royal rights—rights to hold courts, rights to fines, rights of wreckage, rights of fore-shore—in fact he was lord of the land and of the water, and the folk trembled before him. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that this magnate soon came to believe himself a Sovereign Prince, and would brook no rival. It is said that he is naturally of a turbulent disposition, fond of strife with his neighbours, and deposing those in authority. At any rate, he appears to have taken the earliest opportunity of displaying his sovereign will.

“When the Kings of Anglia sold these Manors, they had reserved to the Crown the site of a fort within the manor of Trimley, known as Landguard, because, as stated in the grant, ‘a fortress had ever existed there for the defence of the land of Anglia.’ Landguard lies out of the *route* usually frequented by the Ministers of the Sovereigns of Great Britain, and consequently, in the year 1867, it was little better than a ruin, and the sheep belonging to the neighbouring farmers grazed in its precincts without molestation. Probably from this cause it escaped the attention of the new Lord. But in the year 1870, a sanguinary war having broken out between two neighbouring states, Prussia and France, and Her Majesty’s Government being of opinion that this war might in its course create difficulties in the North Sea, in case of any interference with the liberty of Belgium, Field Marshal Cardwell,¹ commanding her land forces, proceeded to the coast of East Anglia to see if the port of Harwich was properly protected. As the fort of Landguard was intended to protect the entrance of that harbour, Field Marshal Cardwell ordered the ruin to be at once taken down and a strong fort to be erected in its place. The assembly of the wise men of Britain² approved of his energy and readily voted the money. A contract was accordingly entered into with some great builders, and they sent their ships laden with granite and iron and timber, but the Lord of Walton-cum-Trimley said, ‘True, the land where the fort stands belongs to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, but the foreshore, some 20 feet wide, which lies between that land and your ships is mine, and neither granite, nor iron, nor timber shall cross that foreshore without it pay a tribute of 6d. per ton.’

‘Un Seigneur dit, je m’en empare :
Le droit de jambage est à moi,
Tout pour la noblesse et vive le roi.’

“This was reported to Field Marshal Cardwell, who replied, ‘The man is a strange man, but matters are getting hot across the channel, get on with the

¹ The Right Hon. E. Cardwell, Secretary of State for War.

² The House of Commons.

work as fast as you can, there is no time at present to refer the question to the arbitration of a third power, pay the tribute, and I will settle with you.' Then the Lord of the Manor, seeing how complaisant the Government of Queen Victoria was, raised his tribute to 1s. per ton, then 1s. 6d., and then to 2s., not only upon granite and iron and timber, but on guns, and shot, and shell, and gunpowder, and all munition of war. AND IT WAS PAID.

"In the beginning of this year of grace, 1874, the assembly of the wise men of Great Britain, having disagreed among themselves and a serious engagement¹ having ensued, Field Marshal Cardwell was worsted, and Field Marshal Hardy² succeeded to the command of all the Forces and Fortresses of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. Field Marshal Hardy is an upright man, and consequently felt it due to his sovereign that she should no longer pay blackmail to the Lordling of a manor for access to a Fortress which she only held for the benefit and defence of her people. Never indeed had such a thing been known to the South-folk until the days of Field Marshal Cardwell. Field Marshal Hardy was also a courteous man and he therefore sent Officers of high degree to negotiate the matter. But, the turbulent Lordling did not want peace, and without further ado, raised the tribute to 2s. 6d.

"Courteous men are, however, generally also firm men. Field Marshal Hardy at once stopped all further works, and ordered that a Battery of Artillery should be sent to garrison the Fort. As usual, the kingdom of Anglia was devoid of troops, and a battery of Artillery of 150 men had to be ordered from Gibraltar. The Lord of Walton-cum-Trimley, to give him his due, is a man fertile in expedients and keeps himself well informed of the movements of his enemies. No sooner did he hear that the Artillery had landed in Anglia and were proceeding to Landguard, than he at once boldly cut off the supply of water from the Fort, which had flowed uninterruptedly for 250 years: sent a defiant letter to Field Marshal Hardy to announce the fact: and publicly proclaimed his Officers guilty of all manner of bad things.

"Six weeks have now elapsed. The Fortress is abandoned. The seven ton guns are lying rusting on the ground. Of the Battery of Artillery there is not even a vestige. The Lordling sings jubilee within his castle of Orwell, and the folk cry out in derision, 'Where, oh! where is the great Secretary of State for War?'

"Can Spain display a more discreditable scene?"

The constant turmoil caused by claims ever and anon set up by the lord of the manor at length compelled Her Majesty's Government to take the decisive step of acquiring, once for all, under the provisions of the Defence

¹ The general election of 1874.

² The Right Hon. G. Gathorne-Hardy, Secretary of State for War in the new Government.

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PLATE XIII.



GATEWAY AND DRAWBRIDGE OF FORT—PRESENT DAY.

Acts, absolute ownership of all common land and foreshore around and near the fort, and, by so doing, to put an end for ever to the exercise of the manorial rights and privileges attached to such land and foreshore. The procedure under the Acts is to cause the sum to be paid by the Government, for the purchase of such lands and rights as it has taken, to be ascertained by verdict of a jury, given after inquiry held for the purpose before two county magistrates, assisted by a trained lawyer, who presides over the inquiry as legal assessor. The inquiry respecting the value of Langer Common and foreshores was held at the Shire Hall, in Ipswich, in the month of January 1876, before Barrington Chevallier, Esq., M.D., and Edward Packard, Esq., two of the Justices for the County of Suffolk, with J. O. Griffiths, Esq., Q.C., as legal assessor.

The Counsel who conducted the case for the Crown were the present eminent Judge, Sir Henry Hawkins, who was then a very leading Q.C., with, as his junior, Mr. Bowen, who afterwards attained the position of a Lord of Appeal, and was raised to the peerage as Lord Bowen. The inquiry lasted a week, and excited very great public interest. The sum claimed by Colonel Tomline was no less than £40,000, but he signally failed in his endeavour to establish a right to receive anything approaching that sum, as, at the close of a very careful and exhaustive inquiry, the jury awarded him, probably to his considerable chagrin, the comparatively insignificant sum of £1,939.

Thus ended the little civil war which in the early seventies of the present century so long harassed the military authorities at Landguard: the turbulent lord of the manor, by whom it was caused, has now long since passed to that bourn whence none return to trouble their neighbours. Peace to his ashes! ¹

CHAPTER XX.

THE FORT OF THE PRESENT DAY.

My attempted narration of the history of Landguard and its fort, now comes to an end.

The re-building of the present fort was completed in 1875, but I am precluded by the provisions of the Officials Secrets Act² from giving any description of it in detail, though I may safely say that it presents no feature of architectural beauty—that it is, in fact, a picture of ugliness, whilst its internal arrangements are by no means such as to conduce to the extreme comfort of its occupants.

There are within its walls an officers' mess, officers' quarters, and barrack accommodation for a certain number of men; whilst on Landguard common,

¹ He died in 1889. His remains were cremated at Woking.

² 52 and 53 Vict. c. 52. August 26, 1889.

outside the fort, stand quarters for married soldiers, hospital, soldiers' recreation rooms and canteen.

In May 1876, the head-quarters of a battery of garrison artillery—No. 6 of the 23rd brigade¹—under the command of Major E. R. Cottingham,² occupied the new fort, and carried out the work of mounting the new guns. This battery remained at Landguard until the following December only, furnishing whilst there a detachment, with two officers, for duty at Shornmead Fort³; it moved from Landguard to Woolwich, and from the time of its departure until early in 1881 the fort was garrisoned by successive small detachments only, under the command of an officer, furnished from time to time by various batteries of artillery.

In April 1881, the strength of the garrison was again increased to a complete battery, and has since that date remained unaltered.

The following list shows the batteries and companies of artillery by which Landguard Fort has been successively garrisoned since April 1881, with the names of the commanding officers of such batteries and companies, respectively.

Date of Arrival.		Designation.	Commanded by		No. in Kane's List of Officers of the Royal Artillery, 1891.
Year.	Month.				
1881	April	15 Battery, 11th Brigade. Became, in April 1882, 1 Battery, 1st Brigade, Eastern Division. ⁴	On arrival .. From Oct. 1881	Major W. B. Rice .. Major G. C. H. Parlbay ..	2439 2805
1884	Nov.	4 Battery, 1st Brigade, Scottish Division. ⁵	On arrival .. From April 1885	Major H. L. Gwyn .. Major C. E. Brown ..	2656 3095
1888	Jan.	6 Battery, 1st Brigade, Lancashire Division. ⁶	On arrival .. From April 1888 From Jan. 1889	Captain H. G. Pelly .. Captain G. R. Darley .. Captain D. C. Carter ..	3730 3853 3681
1889	May	6 Battery, 1st Brigade, South Irish Division. Became, in July 1889, 2 Company, Eastern Division. ⁷	On arrival ..	Major A. R. Fraser ..	3312
1890	April	17 Company, Eastern Division. ⁸	On arrival .. From May 1890 From Sept. 1890	Captain F. A. Bligh .. Major F. Waldron .. Major R. A. Rigg ..	4029 3506 3509

¹ Formed in 1863. Now 10 Mountain Battery.

² No. 2578, Kane's List of Officers of the Royal Artillery, 1891.

³ In Kent. On the right bank of the Thames, two miles below Gravesend.

⁴ Formed in 1802. Now 9 Mountain Battery.

⁵ Formed in 1854. Now 25 Company, Southern Division.

⁶ Formed in 1855. Now 19 Company, Eastern Division.

⁷ Formed in 1757. Now 2 Company, Eastern Division.

⁸ Formed in 1848. No change in present designation.

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PLATE XIV.



DITCH AND OUTER WALL OF FORT (SOUTH-EAST FACE), SHOWING "HOLLANDS" AND "KING'S" BASTIONS—
PRESENT DAY.

List of batteries and companies of artillery.—*cont.*

Date of Arrival.		Designation.	Commanded by		No. In Kane's List of Officers of the Royal Artillery, 1891.
Year.	Month.				
1891	Sept.	7 Company, Eastern Division. ¹	On arrival .. From June 1892	Captain H. L. A. Jenkinson Captain W. H. Onslow ..	4125 4235
1892	June	16 Company, Eastern Division. ²	On arrival ..	Major J. P. Fell ..	3584
1893	June	9 Company, Eastern Division. ³ Became, in April 1894, 19 Company, Eastern Division.	On arrival .. From Aug. 1893 From April 1894	Captain C. H. Ford .. Captain J. C. Wray .. Major H. G. Weir ..	4262 4279 3465
1894	May	11 Company, Eastern Division. ⁴	On arrival .. From Feb. 1895 From April 1895	Major W. E. L. Balfour .. Major R. F. McCrea .. Major H. M. Slater ..	3591 3752 3768
1896	Oct.	18 Company, Eastern Division. ⁵	On arrival .. From Oct. 1897	Major J. H. Leslie .. Major A. Hamilton-Gordon	3797 3928
1897	Nov.	2 Company, Eastern Division. ⁶	On arrival ..	Major W. Y. Foster ..	3932
1898	May	28 Company, Eastern Division. ⁷	On arrival ..	Captain E. Pollock ..	3960

Two views of portions of the present fort are given in *plates* 13 and 14, from photographs taken in 1897.

Plate 13 shows the entrance gate-way and draw-bridge of the fort: the walls on either side of the gate-way are those which were built in 1716. *Plate* 14 shows the outer walls and the ditch of the south-east face of the fort: the bastion seen at the further end of the ditch is that known as "Holland's": the one in the fore-ground is that known as "King's."

As regards the present armament of Landguard Fort I must perforce maintain complete silence. I may, however, venture to express an opinion that its present construction and armament are both of them such that a modern enemy would still find this bulwark of the most important harbour between the Thames and the Humber as hard a nut to crack as it was discovered to be by our Dutch foemen in the bygone days when the merry monarch was king, and when his able officer, Darell, so successfully repelled their bold attack upon it.

¹ Formed in 1768. No change in present designation.

² Formed in 1848. No change in present designation.

³ Formed in 1855. No change in present designation.

⁴ Formed in 1806. No change in present designation.

⁵ Formed in 1848. No change in present designation.

⁶ Formed in 1757. No change in present designation.

⁷ Formed in May, 1898, at Landguard, on the increase of the Royal Artillery.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE GOVERNORS.

A COMPLETE list of the Governors of the fort, from the institution of the office in 1628 down to its abolition in 1833, is given below.

The biographical notices have purposely been condensed, the intention being merely to show who each Governor was, giving at the same time a brief outline of the main features of their respective careers.

Most of those by whom the governorship was, from time to time, held, were men of great distinction and reputation; men who, belonging to noble families, had at the same time earned their position by loyal service to their country.

The portraits are far from complete, but I much doubt whether there are in existence any others than those which are given. Those of Sir John Clavering, Generals Mackay and Trelawny, are taken from original pictures or miniatures, and have never been published before. There are, also, at Calehill, (near Ashford, in Kent)—the seat of the Darell family—three portraits, one of which is said to be that of Nathaniel Darell, but unfortunately there is nothing to distinguish its identity.

The pay of a Governor was at first 10 shillings a day (*see* p. 18), but in 1659 it fell to 8 shillings (*see* p. 33), at which figure it remained until 1716, when it again rose to the original rate of 10 shillings. In 1758 it had been raised to £1 a day,¹ but in 1789 it was reduced to 19 shillings, at which rate it remained until the abolition of the governorship in 1833.

Name.	Held the Appointment of Governor.	
	From	To
Henry Rich, 1st Earl of Holland, K.G.	1628	1648
Colonel Thomas Ireton	1648	1652
Benjamin Gifford, Esq.	1652	1655
Major Mathew Cadwel	1655	1659
Colonel Humphrey Brewster	1659	1660
Charles Rich, 4th Earl of Warwick	1660	1664
Colonel Henry Farr	{ 1664	1665
	{ 1666	1667
James Howard, 3rd Earl of Suffolk	1665	1666

¹ As given in the official Army List of that year.

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PLATE XV.



HENRY RICH, 1ST EARL OF HOLLAND, K.G.

[To face p. 91.]

List of Governors—*cont.*

Name.	Held the Appointment of Governor.	
	From	To
Major Nathaniel Darell	1667	1670
Colonel Sir Charles Lyttelton, Bart.	1670	1680
Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Roger Manley	1680	1687
Lieutenant-Colonel William Eyton	1687	1688
Admiral Henry Killigrew	1688	1697
Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Jones	1697	1711
Captain Francis Hammond	1711	1719
Captain Bacon Morris... ..	1719	1744
Colonel Mordaunt Cracherode	1744	1753
Lieutenant-General Lord George Beauclerk	1753	1768
Lieutenant-General Robert Armiger	1768	1770
Lieutenant-General Sir John Clavering, K.B.	1770	1776
Lieutenant-General the Hon. Alexander Mackay	1776	1788
Lieutenant-General Harry Trelawny	1788	1800
Lieutenant-General Sir David Dundas, G.C.B.	1800	1801
General Cavendish Lister	1801	1823
General Sir Robert Brownrigg, Bart., G.C.B.	1823	1833

HENRY RICH, EARL OF HOLLAND, K.G. 1628—1648.

The first Governor of Landguard Fort was Henry Rich,¹ Earl of Holland, K.G., second son of Robert Rich, first Earl of Warwick.

He was born in 1590 ; was elected to serve as a Burgess in Parliament for Leicester in 1610, and re-elected in 1614 ; was subsequently made a privy councillor, and held several offices (Captain of the King's Guard, Groom of the Stole, &c.) in the household of Charles I. He was elevated to the peerage in March 1622, as Baron Kensington,² and was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Holland on September 24, 1624³ ; was created knight of the garter in 1625 ; and on March 28, 1628, was appointed by the King to be "Governor and Captain of the Town and Fort at Harwich, and of the new Fort at Landguard Poynte"⁴ for life.

¹ See Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 48.

² State Papers, Domestic. James I., Vol. 139, No. 42.

³ State Papers, Domestic. James I., Vol. 172, No. 30.

⁴ Sign Manual grants and warrants. Charles I., Vol. 26, No. 20.

Holland has been described as "incomparably the most accomplished English Courtier of his time, who, under a veil of universal complaisance and condescension, concealed the purest selfishness."

At the commencement of the quarrel between Charles I. and his Parliament in 1642, Holland, as has previously been mentioned, sided with the latter. Gardiner, in his "History of the Great Civil War," styles him a "disappointed Courtier," whose support to the peace party in the House of Lords, at the outbreak of the war, brought that party but little credit.

In August 1643 however, Holland went over to the King, though not for long, as he again embraced the cause of the Parliament no later than the following October. Meanwhile he retained the governorship of the fort—probably, however, not more than nominally.

In 1646 he tried to induce the House of Commons to grant him £1,000 a year to compensate him for the losses he had suffered in their cause, but the House, not seeing it in the same light, declined to accede to his petition.

From that time he worked, heart and soul, to effect a royalist rising in England, which eventually took place in 1648. The rising failed, and Holland was taken prisoner at St. Neot's on July 10.

He was tried by the High Court of Justice shortly after the execution of Charles I., at the beginning of 1649; was sentenced to death, and beheaded before the gate of Westminster Hall on March 9. His execution excited no pity among the spectators, possibly on account of his constant changes of allegiance between King and Parliament.

It is interesting to find that, although two new forts have been built at Landguard since the time when Holland was Governor, one of the bastions is still called—as it was then—"Holland's" bastion (*see* p. 18).

Though not in any way connected with the history of Landguard Fort, I cannot but record the fact that by his marriage with Isabel, daughter and heiress of Sir Walter Cope, Holland acquired the manor and mansion of Kensington, which mansion has from that period borne the name of Holland House. It was afterwards bought by Henry Fox, who, on being raised to the peerage in 1763, took the title of Holland from the house, the former title having become extinct on the death of the fifth Earl in 1759.

The portrait (*plate* 15) is taken from an engraving in the British Museum, by Faithorne.

COLONEL THOMAS IRETON. 1648–1652.

Colonel Thomas Ireton was appointed Governor of the fort in 1648, in all probability after Holland had been taken prisoner. I have not been able to ascertain the exact date of this appointment, but on November 13, 1648, the House of Commons ordered certain ammunition be issued "for the

service of Landguard Fort," and "for the defence thereof, as Colonel Thomas Ireton, Governor of the same, shall demand."¹

Ireton was a brother of the notorious Parliamentary general, Henry Ireton, and served as a captain in Colonel Rich's troop of horse during the civil war.² In September 1645, he was present at the storming of Bristol, and "led on the Forlorn Hope at the Storm, was shot with a brace of bullets in his arm, and it broken thereby."³

He died at Landguard in June 1652, and in the despatch⁴ announcing his death is referred to as "Quarter-Master-Generall Ireton," though I fancy the term is not at all synonymous with our Q.M.G. of the present time.

To this day remains, and is shewn on all maps, "Ireton's Ditch," which runs along the north side of Landguard Common (*see frontispiece*), nearly parallel to the railway line between Felixstowe station and the Dock station.

It is an interesting fact that the names of the two first Governors of the fort survive to this day—the name of the first being borne by "Holland's" Bastion, and that of the second by "Ireton's" Ditch.

BENJAMIN GIFFORD, ESQ. 1652-1655.

Benjamin Gifford was appointed Governor of the fort in June 1652, upon the death of Colonel Ireton.

He was, of course, a follower of Cromwell, and, presumably, a sound Puritan, for, writing in 1652 concerning his appointment to the governorship, he says "though unworthy, yet I trust the Lord will enable mee to a due discharge of the trust reposed in mee."⁴

Gifford was still Governor on September 28, 1655,⁵ but as in February of the following year we find mention made of Major Cadwel⁶ as Governor, it may fairly be assumed that Gifford did not retain the post beyond the end of 1655 or thereabouts.

Nothing more is known of him.

MAJOR MATHEW CADWEL. 1655-1659.

Mathew Cadwel was made Governor of the fort towards the close of 1655 or early in 1656.⁶ It is probable that his position there was simply

¹ Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. 6, p. 75.

² Peacock's Army List of the Roundheads and Cavaliers, p. 108.

³ Sprigg's "Anglia Rediviva," p. 111.

⁴ State Papers, Domestic, 1652. Vol. 24, No. 41.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic, 1655. Council of State, Day's Proceedings, I. 76.

⁶ State Papers, Domestic, 1655. Council of State, Day's Proceedings, I. 77.

that of Captain of the troops then in the fort, as, during the Commonwealth, the substantive office of Governor seems to have fallen into abeyance.

Cadwel had been a follower of the Parliament in the civil war, and had, in 1645, served as a Captain in Colonel Montague's regiment of Foot in the "New Model" Army.¹

In 1659 he was promoted to the rank of Major in the same regiment,² which was then commanded by Colonel John Biscoe, and in all probability he continued to serve in it until it was disbanded in 1660, after the Restoration.

He held the governorship until 1659, when he was succeeded by Colonel Humphrey Brewster.

COLONEL HUMPHREY BREWSTER. 1659-1660.

Colonel Humphrey Brewster was appointed³ Governor of the fort by the Parliament on July 4, 1659.⁴ He was a Suffolk magistrate, residing near Bungay, and in 1658 was Captain of a Militia troop of horse in Suffolk.⁵

He belonged to the very old Suffolk family of Brewster, who were seated at Wrentham in that county from the reign of Edward VI. down to 1797. Born in 1604, he was the 3rd son of Francis Brewster. The Brewsters were gentry of consideration in the county, and appear to have attained their highest elevation during Cromwell's protectorate.

Between the year 1640 and 1660 Robert Brewster (Humphrey's eldest brother), the then possessor of Wrentham Hall, and a warm supporter of Cromwell, sat in Parliament for the borough of Dunwich, and among the five gentlemen of Suffolk to whom the representation of that county was granted by Cromwell and his officers in July 1653, in the assembly known as Barebone's Parliament, was his son, Francis Brewster.

As a matter of course, Colonel Brewster ceased to be Governor, at the Restoration of Charles II., in 1660.

CHARLES RICH, EARL OF WARWICK. 1660-1664.

Charles Rich, 4th Earl of Warwick, was appointed Governor of the fort at the Restoration in 1660.⁶

¹ Peacock's Army List of the Roundheads and Cavaliers, p. 103.

² Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. 7. p. 612.

³ Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. 7., p. 704.

⁴ State Papers, Domestic, Commonwealth. Vol. 203, No. 389.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic, Commonwealth. Vol. 183, No. 64.

⁶ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 38, No. 34.

He was the 2nd son of Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick, the Earl by whom the fort was built, and had succeeded to the title in 1659 as 4th Earl, on the death of his elder brother, the 3rd earl, without issue. He relinquished the governorship of the fort in 1664 on account of ill-health, and died in 1673.

There is nothing in his personal career meriting special observation.

COLONEL HENRY FARR. 1664-1665 and 1666-1667.

Colonel Henry Farr was appointed "Governor of Landguard Point Fort" on November 16, 1664.¹

Farr belonged to an old Essex family, and was born at Great Burstead, in that county, in 1603. At the commencement of the civil war in 1642 he threw in his lot with the Parliament, and is mentioned in "Clarendon's History of the Rebellion" as a "known creature and confidant of the Earl of Warwick."

The Earl of Warwick (Robert Rich) who has been previously referred to in this history, was at that time a large landed proprietor in Essex, and so possessed great influence in the county, and this influence was probably a material factor in determining the political action of many of the Essex gentlemen.

Soon after the outbreak of the civil war, Warwick was made Lord Lieutenant of Essex, and in that position held command of the Parliamentary forces in that part of England, many Essex squires and gentlemen serving under him as officers, amongst whom, serving as Captain of the trained bands, was Henry Farr.

Towards the end of 1642, Captain Farr and others were superseded in their local commands by certain Dutch officers, who were supposed to be better skilled than themselves in the art of war.² Against this supersession Farr protested but without avail. Warwick replied to his protest, by justifying and adhering to the course of action he had adopted in superseding him.

In all probability this supersession may account for the fact that in 1648 Farr went over to and fought on the side of the King, taking with him a large number of followers from the Essex trained bands. It seems likely that in taking up arms originally for the Parliament he may have followed his liking for Warwick as a man, instead of his personal inclination towards the cause of royalty; and that, when he had broken with Warwick, he found little difficulty in embracing a cause to which his sympathy was doubtless strongly attracted.

In 1648 he was present, holding high command in the royalist garrison, at the memorable defence of Colchester. After the fall of that town he

¹ War Office Commission Book, 1660 to 1684, p. 43.

² Collection of pamphlets, Brit. Museum, E., 127, 9.

was condemned to death,¹ with Lucas and Lisle, as a traitor to the Parliament, but escaped that fate, and after the Restoration met with a reward for his services to the crown by receiving the governorship of Landguard Fort as above stated.

Colonel Farr retained the post of Governor until April 1667, when his company was transferred from Landguard to Yarmouth: there appears, however, to have been a short break in his tenure of office, the Earl of Suffolk having, during part of the time, held the governorship of the fort, under circumstances after stated.

JAMES HOWARD, EARL OF SUFFOLK. 1665-1666.

James Howard,² 3rd Earl of Suffolk, was born in 1619, and succeeded to the title in 1640.

During the civil war he adhered to the cause of the Parliament. He was, however, at one time suspected of a leaning towards the side of the King, as evidenced by the fact that in 1647 the House of Commons decided—although no action was taken on the decision—to impeach him.

After the Restoration he was made Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, and in 1661 was Colonel of the Suffolk regiment of Horse Militia. He became Governor of Landguard Fort early in 1665, probably receiving that post in virtue of his then holding the two positions of Lord Lieutenant of Suffolk, and Commander of the local trained bands which were at that time being concentrated in the vicinity of Landguard to defend the Suffolk coast against apprehended invasion by the Dutch. He retained his governorship until towards the end of 1666, when it was resumed by Colonel Farr who had previously held it.

The important part taken by the forces under the command of this noble Earl, in repelling the attempt of the Dutch enemy in July 1667, has already been briefly recorded in these pages.

He died in 1688.

MAJOR NATHANIEL DARELL. 1667-1670.

Nathaniel Darell was the son of an officer of the same name, who held the post of Lieutenant Governor of Guernsey in 1660,³ and belonged to the family of Darell, of Calehill, Ashford, in the county of Kent. Not much is known of his (the younger Darell's) early life, but he is said to have served under Charles I., and to have been "a man as well of great fidelity to his King,

¹ Rushworth's Historical Collections, Part IV. Vol. 2, p. 1243.

² See Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 28.

³ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 38. No. 34.

as bravery against the enemy."¹ Hence we may assume that he was a royalist. There is no information as to his career during the period between 1642, and the Restoration in 1660, but in the latter year he was serving in Sir Hugh Pollard's company in Guernsey, of which island his father was then lieutenant governor.

In November 1664, the regiment called the Lord High Admiral's regiment² was raised, and our Nathaniel Darell received a commission in it as Captain, with command of a company.³

Early in 1666 he was stationed at Ipswich, and afterwards at Harwich, and, with his company, was engaged on board the fleet in the great naval battle of July 25 and 26 (*see p. 40*).

On September 8, 1666, Darell's company arrived at Landguard for duty, but it was not until April 1667, that he was appointed Governor of the fort.

Shortly after his arrival at Landguard it appears that a well known Suffolk worthy, Sir Samuel Barnardiston, denounced him to the King and Council as a Papist, alleging at the same time that the soldiers and sailors at Landguard were on such bad terms with one another, that if attacked by an enemy the fort must fall.⁴

This accusation, which seems to have been made on hearsay evidence only, was very naturally resented by Darell, who appealed to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, for "justice against the malignity" of his detractor, and begged "favour that his wronged innocence may have public reparation," forwarding at the same time, in support of his appeal, a certificate⁵ signed by the Bailiffs, the Recorder, two Ministers, and eight other residents of Ipswich.

A very good idea of Darell's general character may be gathered from this certificate, which is as follows:—

"These may certifie whom it may concerne that Captaine Nathaniell Darell being quartered in this town wth his Company about tow months in y^e last yeare did with his Company com constantly to Church to divine searvice, and upon all fast dayes while he continued with us expressed large charitie to the poore and not the least suespected to be inclined to Popery, and some of us being athe Forte yesterday receaved a great sattisfaction from o^r seamen thear of his kindness to them and of theare willingness to continue under his Command and of the very good agreement between the souldiers and seamen, and we must profess we neaver received more content in a Commander of that place, and he has justly paied all his

¹ Bishop Parker's "History of his own Time," p. 126. London, 1727.

² Afterwards re-named the Duke of York's regiment, and now the Royal Marines.

³ Domestic Entry Book, Vol. 20, pp. 32, 33.

⁴ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 207, No. 112.

⁵ State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. 207, No. 112, i.

Companies quarters in this Towne, and in all other partes neare as wee have credibly heard, and all this wee credibly and willingly subscribe unto."

Barnardiston was ordered a few days later to appear before the Council.¹

The part Darell took in the defence of the fort in 1667 has already been related in chapter 11. He was appointed Major² of his regiment on April 15, 1668.

In August 1670, Darell proceeded with his company to Sheerness,³ and on arrival there was appointed governor, an appointment which he continued to hold until his death, which occurred on January 31, 1680.⁴

Major Edye in his "History of the Royal Marines,"⁵ thus writes (p. 237) of him:—

"There is no doubt that the services which Major Darell, one of the original Officers of the Regiment, had rendered from time to time to the State were very considerable, and that this, his general merits, coupled with his distinguished conduct in the defence of Landguard Fort, had earned for him his appointment as Governor of Sheerness.

"A study of the official and other documents of the period during which he was Governor shows how great an importance was attached to this command, and how much confidence was reposed in him by the several Departments of the State."

COLONEL SIR CHARLES LYTTTELTON, BART. 1670-1680.

Colonel Sir Charles Lyttelton (*plate 16*), was the seventh son of Sir Thomas, the first Baronet of that family, and was born in the year 1630.⁶ He, like his father, was an active partisan of the royalist cause, and early in life took up arms for the King. He served in the royal forces at the defence of Colchester, when that town was besieged by Cromwell in 1648. After Colchester had fallen, he escaped to France, and subsequently held the office of cup-bearer to Charles II., during his enforced residence on the Continent. During that time he was frequently employed by the exiled monarch on secret missions to the royalists in England, and in 1659 took part in a royalist (Sir George Booth's) rising in Cheshire in favour of Charles II., was arrested by order of the Parliament, and confined at Westminster. He ultimately escaped and returned to his royal master, with

¹ From the MSS. of Mr. S. H. Le Fleming, p. 51. News-Letter dated July 2, 1667. Hist. MSS Commission. 13th Report. Appendix, Part 7.

² Domestic Entry Book. Vol. 29, p. 16.

³ Miscellany Order Book. Vol. 512, fols. 76, 77.

⁴ Hatton Correspondence. Vol. 2, p. 221.

⁵ "The Historical Records of the Royal Marines," by Major L. Edye, R.M.L.I. Vol. 1., 1684 to 1701. London, 1893.

⁶ See Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 34.

PLATE XVI.



COLONEL SIR CHARLES LYTTELTON, BART.

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whom he remained until the Restoration. He accompanied the King back to England, and was knighted in 1662. Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon), writing of him at that time, said, "I shall not need to desire you to make very much of Charles Lyttelton, who is a very worthy young man."¹

In 1662 he proceeded to Jamaica as lieutenant-governor, and subsequently became governor, returning to England in 1664.

On November 5, 1664, he was appointed Major,² with command of a company, in the Lord High Admiral's regiment on its being raised, and in 1665 he became Lieut. Colonel in the regiment.

A year later his company was ordered to Landguard Fort, where he did duty with it for some months: and at the commencement of 1667 we find him at Harwich, with three other companies of the regiment, as well as his own. Letters of this period speak of the rapid progress then made, under his orders, with the fortifications and defences of Harwich. In 1668 he was promoted to the rank of Colonel, with command of the regiment.³

For the next few years he remained at Harwich, and his services to the town were so much appreciated that in 1671 he received the freedom of the borough.

It was customary in those days on being made free of the borough to present "a Leather Bucket to hang up in the Hall,⁴ to be in readiness in case of fire." The bucket so presented by Sir Charles Lyttelton had painted upon it "Harwich," below which, on an escutcheon, were the arms of Lyttelton, viz.: Ar. a chevron, between three escallop shells, sa. followed by the inscription, "Sir Charles Littelton made free April 7, 1671."⁵

In 1670 Lyttelton was appointed Governor⁶ of Landguard Fort, and continued to hold that post until January 1680.

At the commencement of 1678 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the English forces then at Bruges, in Flanders, returning at the end of the year on the withdrawal of the troops. During his absence from England no appointment to the governorship of the fort was made. In the following year Sir Charles proceeded to Sheerness with his company,⁷ of which place he became governor on January 31, 1680, on the death of Major Darell, the then governor.

He represented Bewdley in Parliament in 1685, but on account of the Revolution of 1688 his feelings of loyalty prompted him to resign all his

¹ Carte's Collection of Original Letters. Vol. 2. p. 281.

² War Office Commission Book, 1660 to 1684, p. 28.

³ Domestic Entry Book. Vol. 29, p. 16.

⁴ The Town Hall.

⁵ "The History and Antiquities of Harwich," by Silas Taylor, 1732, p. 224.

⁶ Miscellany Order Book. Vol. 512, fols. 76, 77.

⁷ Military Entry Book, Vol. 1. p. 39.

appointments and to retire into private life. He succeeded his elder brother in the Baronetcy in 1693, and died in 1716, aged 86.

Evelyn mentions him in his diary as "an honest gentleman and a soldier." He was a well-known figure at the court of Charles II., where he met the accomplished and beautiful Miss Temple, afterwards his second wife, who was at that time one of the maids of honour of the Duchess of York, and we are told that "the brisk young Mrs. Temple, and the serious and grave Lyttelton appear to have been well matched, although the one was only eighteen, and the other close on forty, and a widower to boot."¹

LIEUT. COLONEL SIR ROGER MANLEY. 1680-1687.

Sir Roger Manley, royalist, second son of Sir Richard Manley, was born about the year 1626. His family lived in Denbighshire, and his brother, Sir Francis (serjeant at law), of Erbistock, was a Welsh judge.

During the civil war, Sir Roger, was one of the garrison of Denbigh Castle which surrendered to the parliamentary troops in 1645. He appears to have then left the country and to have spent some years in Holland. After the Restoration, viz.: in June, 1665, he received a commission as Ensign² in the Holland Regiment,³ and in September of the same year was promoted to the rank of captain.⁴

In 1667 he was appointed to be "Lieut. Governor and Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's Castles, Forts, and Forces within the Island of Jersey." This office he held until November 1672, when he relinquished it on obtaining the captaincy of a company in the Royal regiment of Foot Guards.⁵ He served in this regiment at various places in England until in February 1680, he was sent, with his company, from Portsmouth to Landguard Fort, to relieve Sir Charles Lyttelton's company which had been ordered to Sheerness, and he was then appointed Governor of the fort, his appointment taking effect from the 1st of that month.⁶ At the accession of James II. in February 1685, Manley's commission as Governor was renewed.⁷ He had then attained the rank of Lieut. Colonel, and was in command of a battalion of his regiment.

A little later his Protestantism appeared likely to cause him to lose his commission in the Guards, but though many Protestant officers were replaced by Roman Catholics, Manley seems to have died in harness. His death occurred early in March 1687.⁸

¹ Vizetelly's *Epilogue to Hamilton's Count de Grammont*, 1889. Vol. 2, p. 239.

² War Office Commission Book, 1660-1684, p. 70.

³ Now the Buffs.

⁴ War Office Commission Book, 1660-1684, p. 91.

⁵ Now the Grenadier Guards.

⁶ Domestic Entry Book. Vol. 29, p. 351.

⁷ Domestic Entry Book. Vol. 69, p. 148.

⁸ Military Entry Book. Vol. 1, p. 381.

He attained some repute as a writer, and in 1670 published the "History of the late Warres in Denmark," a work which preserves its historical value to the present day. He was also author of "The History of the Rebellion in England, Scotland, and Ireland. London, 1691," in the preface to which he is described as "a gentleman of known integrity, bred in the Church of England, for whose cause, joined with that of the Royal family, he was a valiant and zealous champion, having been personally engaged in the most considerable battles, which his Royal Master, King Charles I., fought against his rebellious Subjects."

LIEUT. COLONEL WILLIAM EYTON. 1687-1688.

William Eyton¹ belonged to the old and distinguished family of Eyton, in Shropshire; was the son of Sir Thomas Eyton, and was born about the year 1635.

His family were all staunch royalists, and his father helped to raise a regiment of Dragoons for the service of Charles I.

He himself did not commence his career as a soldier until after the Restoration, receiving a Commission² as Captain in the First regiment of Foot Guards,³ on September 25, 1667, in the room of Colonel Mathew Wise, who had been deprived of the command of his company in the regiment, by reason of professing the Roman Catholic faith.

Eyton became Major of the regiment⁴ on January 1, 1682; commanded the 2nd battalion at the battle of Sedgemoor in 1685; and was promoted to the rank of Lieut. Colonel on April 9, 1686.

He was appointed Governor of Landguard Fort⁵ on March 19, 1687, in succession to Sir Roger Manley, and died on January 14, 1688.

ADMIRAL HENRY KILLIGREW. 1688-1697.

Henry Killigrew, son of the Rev. Henry Killigrew, D.D. (a celebrated Divine, Almoner to the Duke of York, Master of the Savoy, &c.), was appointed Governor of the fort, in succession to Colonel Eyton, on January 20, 1688.⁶

He was a naval officer of distinction; became in 1689⁷ Admiral of the Blue, and, in January 1691, was appointed Colonel of the 2nd Marine

¹ Sometimes spelt Eaton.

² Domestic Entry Book. Vol. 29, p. 9.

³ Now the Grenadier Guards.

⁴ Domestic Entry Book. Vol. 29, p. 402.

⁵ Military Entry Book. Vol. 1. p. 381.

⁶ War Office Commission Book. No. 1257, p. 337.

⁷ Military Entry Book. Vol. 2, p. 187.

regiment of Foot of the Irish Establishment. In 1693 he was appointed a Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, and was also one of the Admirals in joint command of the "Grand Fleet," from which command he was dismissed, consequent on the disaster which befell the Smyrna trade in June of that year. He retained, however, until 1694 his lordship of the Admiralty.

Killigrew's governorship of Landguard Fort seems to have been virtually nominal, because, during the greater part of his term of command there, he was also holding naval command afloat: nor does it appear that he ever resided at the fort, or that he ever in any way administered its affairs.

In October 1697, he was granted half-pay as Admiral of the Blue, and his tenure of office as Governor of the fort terminated. He died at his seat, near St. Albans, on November 9, 1712.¹

LIEUT. COLONEL EDWARD JONES. 1697-1711.

Edward Jones was appointed Governor of the fort on November 1, 1697, in succession to Killigrew.

He had previously served in the Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards, having received his first commission as Ensign² in that regiment on June 25, 1673. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant³ on December 22, 1678, and became Captain-Lieutenant⁴ on February 28, 1694, retiring on December 31, 1696, with the rank of Lieut. Colonel.

From January 1690 until the date of his retirement, he had held the post of Adjutant⁵ of the 2nd battalion of the regiment, and had seen active service with it in Flanders, where he was wounded at the siege of Namur (1695).

On his retirement a special life pension was granted to him in the terms of the following warrant.⁶

"William R.—Whereas, in consideration of the long and faithful services of Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Jones, late Captain-Lieutenant and Adjutant to our Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards, we are pleased to continue unto him his pay as Captain-Lieutenant, and likewise one half of the pay of Adjutant to the 2nd battalion of our said regiment; our will and pleasure is, that you pay unto the said Lieutenant-Colonel Edward

¹ See Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 31.

² Domestic Entry Book. Vol. 35A, fol. 69.

³ Domestic Entry Book. Vol. 44, p. 161.

⁴ Military Entry Book. Vol. 3, p. 177.

⁵ War Office Commission Book. No. 1258, p. 243.

⁶ Mackinnon's "Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards." London, 1833. Vol. 2, p. 305.

Jones, from time to time, the pay of Captain-Lieutenant of our Coldstream regiment of Guards, and one half of the Adjutant's pay accordingly; and that the youngest lieutenant of our said regiment for the time being, do serve upon ensign's pay, and the youngest ensign without pay, and the adjutant of the second battalion upon half-pay, until further order; and for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Kensington, this first day of January, 1697, in the eighth year of our reign.

“By His Majesty's command,

(sd.) “WM. BLATHWAYT.¹”

“To our right trusty and well beloved John, Lord Cutts, Major-Generall of our Forces, and Colonel of our Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards; or to the Colonel or officer-in-chief with our said regiment for the time being.”

His commission as Governor of the Fort was renewed in 1702, and he died in 1711. Richard Steele, the celebrated author and essayist, served at Landguard during Jones's governorship, and it is recorded that these two were “particular friends.”

CAPTAIN FRANCIS HAMMOND. 1711-1719.

Captain Hammond,² who had been Lieutenant-Governor of the fort for 24 years previously, succeeded to the governorship on May 15, 1711,³ after the death of Colonel Jones.

Hammond was a soldier by profession, and received his first commission, as ensign, in the 1st regiment of Foot Guards⁴ at its formation in 1656.⁵ It may therefore be safely assumed that he was of good family, and a royalist.

His mother was a Miss Mary Mennes, sister of Sir John Mennes,⁶ whom she pre-deceased, and from whom Francis Hammond inherited property at Loughton, in the county of Essex.

He served with his regiment for many years, and in 1668 was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant.⁷ He does not appear to have made any great reputation as a soldier, but was probably a fair specimen of the average officer of that period.

He had held the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of the fort since December 1687,⁸ and was the first officer who held that position, his selection

¹ Then Secretary at War.

² Also spelt Hamond, and Hamon.

³ Military Entry Book. Vol. 8, p. 96.

⁴ Now the Grenadier Guards.

⁵ “History of the Grenadier Guards.” By Sir F. W. Hamilton. Vol. 3.

⁶ One of the Commissioners for the Navy in the reign of Charles II. He died in 1669.

⁷ Domestic Entry Book. Vol. 29, p. 15.

⁸ War Office Commission Book. No. 1258, p. 20.

for which was not improbably due to the influence of the then Governor Colonel Eyton, who belonged to the same regiment of Guards as Hammond.

Judging from contemporary letters (*see* p. 64) Hammond was a man of a harsh, if not, indeed, of an actually tyrannical nature.

He died on September 23, 1719,¹ and was succeeded in the governorship by Captain Bacon Morris. Assuming that he entered the army at the customary age of 16, his age at his death was probably about 80 years.

CAPTAIN BACON MORRIS. 1719-1744.

Bacon Morris,² who had been holding the post of Lieutenant-Governor since May 1718 (*see* p. 114), became Governor of the fort on September 23, 1719, in the room of Hammond deceased.³

He was a soldier, and had been commissioned as Captain of a company "in the regiment of Foot⁴ Commanded by Thomas Pearce Esq., Brigadier General of Her Maj^{ties} Forces," on August 17, 1710.⁵

During a part of his tenure of office the rebuilding of the fort was carried out, the fort garrison being quartered in Harwich for the time. To that circumstance it was probably owing that we find it entered in the records of Harwich that on April 27, 1734, Morris and others "were unanimously elected admitted and sworn Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid and took the oaths of allegiance."⁶

Bacon Morris died in 1744, and was succeeded in the governorship by Colonel Cracherode.⁷

COLONEL MORDAUNT CRACHERODE. 1744-1753.

Mordaunt Cracherode belonged to the ancient family of Cracherode, formerly of Toppesfield, in the county of Essex. He entered the army as ensign in 1701, appears to have married Mary Morris on November 22, 1716,⁸ and by 1740 had attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, as we find him in that year described as "Lieutenant-Colonel Cracherode, Captain of an independent company of Invalids, and commander of 5 independent companies of Invalids at Portsmouth."⁹

As commander of marines he accompanied Anson on his voyage round the world in 1741-1744, and in connection with that voyage the following

¹ Musgrave's Obituary. Add. MSS. Brit. Museum, 5727-5749.

² Also spelt Morice, and Maurice.

³ The Historical Register, 1719. Vol. 4, p. 37.

⁴ Now the Northumberland Fusiliers.

⁵ Military Entry Book. Vol. 7, p. 300.

⁶ Harwich Corporation MSS. records.

⁷ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1744. Vol. 14, p. 169.

⁸ Col. Chester's London Marriage Licences, 1887, p. 346.

⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1740. Vol. 10, p. 37.

curious anecdote is told of him in "Davy's Suffolk Collections"¹:—"Mordaunt Cracherode went out to make his fortune as a commander of the marines, in Anson's ship. He returned in consequence of his share of prize-money, a wealthy man. It was said that he returned from this Ansonian circumnavigation in the identical buckskins which he wore on leaving England, they having been the object of his exclusive attachment during the whole voyage! It is said there is one particular volume in the Cracherode collection which is bound in a piece of the identical buckskins."

He was appointed Governor of Landguard Fort in February 1744 in the room of Captain Bacon Morris, deceased,² and held the governorship until 1753, when he received a more remunerative appointment in the governorship of Minorca.

He died on June 20, 1773, and is buried at St. Paul's, Covent Garden.³

LORD GEORGE BEAUCLERK. 1753-1768.

Lord George Beauclerk, sixth son of the first Duke of St. Albans, was born in 1704.

He entered the army, as Ensign in the first regiment of Foot Guards,⁴ on July 29, 1723; became Lieutenant in 1726, and in 1728, on promotion to the rank of Captain, was transferred to the Royal Horse Guards, in which regiment he served until the year 1736, when he was re-transferred to his former regiment with command of a company, and the rank of Lieut. Colonel.

He continued to serve in this regiment until 1745 when he was made aide-de-camp to King George II., with the rank of Colonel, and in the year 1747 the Colonelcy of the 8th Marine regiment was conferred upon him. That regiment was disbanded in 1748, and he was then given the Colonelcy of the 19th regiment of foot, which was serving at Gibraltar. During a portion of the time whilst he was at Gibraltar in command of the 19th, he officiated as Commandant of the place, in the temporary absence of the governor.

He was appointed Governor of Landguard Fort on December 25, 1753, and continued to hold the office until his death, which occurred on May 11, 1768.⁵

He became a Major-General in 1755, and in September 1756, was appointed⁶ to be Commander of His Majesty's Forces in North Britain, during

¹ Add. MSS. Brit. Museum. No. 19,125, fol. 122.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1744. Vol. 14, p. 169.

³ Harleian's Society's Publications. Vol. 10, p. 439.

⁴ Now the Grenadier Guards.

⁵ *The Annual Register*, 1768, p. [215.

⁶ *Military Entry Book*. Vol. 25, p. 159.

the absence of Lieut. General Bland. He was promoted to the rank of Lieut. General in 1758.

He represented the borough of Windsor in Parliament, from June 1741 until April 1754, being again returned in 1768, shortly before his death.

Of the later Governors, the name of Beauclerk, alone, has been handed down to posterity, in that the engraving of Gainsborough's picture of the fort was dedicated to him (*see plate 9*), and there was, more recently, a battery which bore the name "Beauclerk."

LIEUT. GENERAL ROBERT ARMIGER. 1768-1770.

General Robert Armiger—born in 1701—entered the army in the year 1739 as Ensign in the 25th regiment of Foot, then called the Edinburgh regiment, and in February 1747, was transferred to the 1st regiment of Foot Guards,¹ obtaining command of a company with the rank of Captain and Lieut. Colonel.

In 1758, the 65th regiment was formed from the 2nd battalion of the 12th regiment, and Colonel Armiger was then appointed to command it, his commission bearing date April 21.

In 1759 he served as Brigadier-General in the expedition against the island of Guadaloupe, and in June of that year was promoted to the rank of Major-General, becoming Lieut. General² in March, 1765. He obtained the Colonelcy of the 40th regiment in 1760.

He was appointed Governor of Landguard Fort on May 25, 1768,³ and held the governorship until his death, on March 18, 1770.⁴

SIR JOHN CLAVERING, K.B. 1770-1776.

Sir John Clavering was born in 1722, and was the third son of Sir James Clavering of Axwell and Greencroft,¹ in the county of Durham, a member of the old northern family of Clavering, of Callaby Castle, Northumberland.

He received his first commission as Ensign in the Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards, on February 10, 1735, and attained the rank of Captain with command of the grenadier company, in that regiment, in 1753.

In 1759 he commanded a brigade under General Barrington in the expedition against the island of Guadaloupe. He led the attack in person, and Horace Walpole wrote of him as "the real hero of Guadaloupe."

¹ Now the Grenadier Guards.

² The Annual Register, 1765, p. [165.

³ Military Entry Book. Vol. 27, p. 255.

⁴ The Annual Register, 1770, p. [187.

PLATE XVII.



LIEUT. GENERAL SIR JOHN CLAVERING, K.B.

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In General Barrington's despatch to the Secretary at War, announcing the success of the expedition, Clavering is thus mentioned :

"Such men are rare, and I think I may venture to assure you that there are few things in any profession that he is not equal to if it should be thought fit to honour him with the execution of any future commands."

On his return to England, later in the same year, he was made aide-de-camp to the King, and on April 1, 1762, was appointed to the Colonelcy of the 52nd regiment, which he retained until his death. He had, meantime, been sent to Hesse Cassel, as Minister, where he remained until the conclusion of the seven years' war in 1763. In 1770 he was promoted to the rank of Lieut. General, and in the same year (March 19) was made Governor of Landguard Fort.¹

With such a record of service it is not surprising to find that in 1773 he was selected for the command of the Bengal army,² with a seat on the council of the government of India, ranking next to the governor-general.

Warren Hastings was at that time governor-general of India, and the council consisted of five members; three of them, of whom Clavering was one, took up and advocated the adoption of a line of policy in opposition to that supported by the governor-general, and in the struggle for mastery, which followed, far more vehemence than discretion was displayed by Clavering, who not only quarrelled and fought a duel with Barwell, Hastings' only supporter on the council, but very nearly fought another with the governor himself.

The result of the controversy, however, proved that Clavering and his supporters were no match for the brilliant and astute Hastings, by whom their opposition was eventually completely routed. Clavering soon afterwards fell into ill-health, and ultimately died at Calcutta, from the effects of climate, on August 30, 1777. He was buried in the South Park Street burial ground, and Francis, one of his colleagues, wrote that "the Governor ordered minute guns."

His governorship of Landguard Fort seems to have been merely nominal, for he continued to hold it after his departure to India, in 1773, and did not relinquish it until 1776, at the beginning of which year he was appointed governor of Berwick, a similar nominal appointment, as he was still in India, whence he never returned.

He was made a Knight of the Bath in 1776.³

The fact of his having been selected for such a responsible position as membership of the Indian council is in itself evidence of the high estimation in which he was held by the government of the day in which he lived. Although not a man of great mark as a statesman, he was, nevertheless, an

¹ The Annual Register, 1770, pp. [182, 183.

² The Annual Register, 1774, p. [184.

³ The Annual Register, 1776, p. [220.

honourable, straightforward, and energetic soldier, and though, on the other hand, of an impetuous and combative disposition, he was at the same time, a man of sterling integrity.¹

The portrait (*plate 17*) of Sir John is from a picture in the possession of the Rev. J. W. Napier-Clavering, of Axwell Park.

LIEUT. GENERAL THE HON. ALEXANDER MACKAY.

1776-1788.

The Hon. Alexander Mackay, of Strathlongue, 2nd son of George, 3rd Lord Reay, was born in the year 1717.

He received a commission as Ensign in the 25th regiment of Foot, in 1737, and in 1745 was appointed Captain of a company in the Earl of Loudoun's newly raised regiment of Highlanders, which was disbanded in 1748. Mackay's company, with two others of the same regiment, fought against the rebels in 1745 at Prestonpans (Sept. 21), when all the officers and men were either killed or taken prisoners. Mackay was taken prisoner. In 1750 he was promoted to the rank of Major in the 3rd Foot, and in 1756 was appointed Lieut. Colonel of the 52nd regiment on its being raised. In 1762 he obtained the Colonelcy of the 122nd Foot, one of the Irish regiments, which was disbanded in 1763; in the following year he became Colonel of the 65th regiment, and in 1770 of the 21st (Royal Scots Fusiliers) regiment.

In that year he was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and in 1777 to that of Lieut. General.

In 1772 he was appointed Governor of Tynemouth Castle, and in 1776, Governor of Landguard Fort, which latter governorship he retained until 1788, when he relinquished it for the governorship of Stirling Castle.

He was made Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Scotland in 1780, and continued to hold that post until his death, which occurred at Edinburgh on May 31, 1789.²

He represented the County of Sutherland in Parliament from 1761 to 1768, and the Northern (Wick) Burghs from 1768 to 1773.

The portrait (*plate 18*) is taken from a picture in the possession of Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,—a copy of the original, by Seton.

LIEUT. GENERAL HARRY TRELAWNY. 1788-1800.

General Harry Trelawny was appointed Governor of Landguard Fort in the year 1788, on his retirement from the Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards, in which regiment he had served for over forty years. He was born in 1726.

¹ See Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 2.

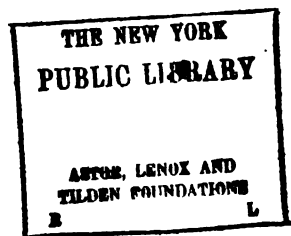
² The Annual Register, 1789. Vol. 31, p. [244.

PLATE XVIII.



LIEUT. GENERAL THE HON. ALEXANDER MACKAY.

To face p. 108.]



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PLATE XIX.



LIEUT. GENERAL HARRY TRELAWNY.

Before joining the Guards, he had carried the colours of the 3rd regiment of Foot during the suppression of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. He served with the Guards in the North American war, commanded the first battalion of his regiment at Freehold on June 28, 1778, and was wounded in that engagement.

General Trelawny was a member of the ancient Cornish family of Trelawny. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, were all of them soldiers; his uncle also, Sir Harry Trelawny, was aide-de-camp to the Duke of Marlborough, and his (the Governor's) brother, Sir William, the sixth Baronet, a naval officer of some distinction, was made governor of Jamaica.

It is worthy of record that his son, grandson, and two great-grandsons all served in the Guards, the family having thus given soldiers to the country for no less than seven generations in immediate succession, a consecutive service they may justly regard with some feeling of family pride.

General Trelawny held the governorship until his death in 1800. He is buried at St. Anne's church, Soho, where the following tablet has been placed to his memory:—

“ This Plain Tablet
sacred
To Parental affection and filial piety
is inscribed to the
Memory of
GENERAL HARRY TRELAWNY,
late Lieut-Colonel
in the Coldstream Regiment of Guards,
and Governor of Landguard Fort,
who, with unblemished honour,
served his King and Country for
Fifty-eight years,
and died on the 28th day of January, 1800,
Aged 74.”

The portrait (*plate 19*) is from a miniature belonging to Captain Horace Trelawny, late Royal Horse Guards, a great-grandson of the General.

LIEUT. GENERAL SIR DAVID DUNDAS, G.C.B. 1800–1801.

Sir David Dundas succeeded to the governorship¹ of Landguard Fort in 1800, on the death of General Trelawny, but he held the appointment for a short time only, as he was transferred in 1801 to the governorship of Fort

¹ The Annual Register, 1800, p. 51.

St. George, Inverness. He was, however, such a distinguished soldier that a short sketch of his remarkable military career will, I think, not be considered uninteresting by the reader of these pages.

He was¹ the third son of Robert Dundas, an Edinburgh merchant; was born in 1735; joined the army in 1754, as a Lieutenant Fireworker in the Royal Artillery,² and afterwards served successively in the Engineers, the 56th Foot, and, as a Captain, in the 15th Light Dragoons. In the earlier part of his life he saw much active service, and was also a frequent attendant at manœuvres of Continental armies; he was promoted to the rank of Major in 1770, became Lieut. Colonel of the 12th Light Dragoons in 1775, and Lieut. Colonel of the 2nd Irish Horse in 1781.

In 1788 he published a work on military tactics entitled: "The Principles of Military Movements, chiefly applicable to Infantry," a book which, with later publications from his pen, gained for him high reputation as a tactician. In the course of the next few years he held many staff appointments, and in 1793 served under the Duke of York, in Flanders, against the French; he also commanded a cavalry brigade in the battle of Tournay, in 1794, and later in Westphalia, until the final recall of the troops from the Continent in 1796.

The great ability he had displayed in these campaigns brought him the Colonelcy of the 7th (or the Queen's Own) Regiment of Light Dragoons, and raised him to the position of Q.M.G. of the Army.

He was again on active service with the Duke of York in 1799, and in 1801 was made Colonel of the 2nd Dragoons. He afterwards commanded the Southern District, was created a K.B. in 1804, and appointed Governor of Chelsea Hospital in 1805; consequently on that appointment he resigned command of the Southern District and retired to, and lived for the remainder of his life at, Chelsea.

In 1809 he was made a Privy Councillor, and also appointed Colonel-in-Chief of the Rifle Brigade, which appointment he held until his death; and from March in that year until May 1811, he held the post of Commander-in-Chief of the army. He was lastly transferred to the Colonelcy of the King's Dragoon Guards, and died at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, on February 18, 1820, at the age of 84, and is buried in the cemetery there.

It has been said that "he raised himself into notice by having formed a system for the British Army compiled and digested from the Prussian code of Tactics both for the Infantry and the Cavalry," and he is described as having been a "tall, spare man, crabbed and austere, dry in his looks and demeanour."

¹ See Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 16.

² No. 204, Kane's List of the Officers of the Royal Artillery, 1891.



LIEUT. GENERAL SIR DAVID DUNDAS, G.C.B.

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He is the only one of the Governors of Landguard Fort who ever served in the Royal Artillery, and that only for the first few months of his military career.

The portrait (*plate 20*) is from an engraving by Reynolds, after Owen.

GENERAL CAVENDISH LISTER. 1801-1823.

General Cavendish Lister was appointed Governor of the fort on May 16, 1801.

The whole of his regimental service was passed in the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards.¹ His first commission—as Ensign—is dated April 1, 1761; he was promoted to be Major-General in 1793,² Lieutenant-General in 1798,³ and General in 1803,⁴ but he does not appear to have seen any active service.

In 1802 he was appointed Colonel of the 45th (or Nottinghamshire) regiment of Foot.

He retained the governorship of the fort until his death, which occurred on February 2, 1823, at Coln St. Aldwyn's, near Fairford in Gloucestershire.⁵

GENERAL SIR ROBERT BROWNRIGG, BART., G.C.B.

1823-1833.

General Sir Robert Brownrigg, G.C.B. (*plate 21*), was appointed⁶ Governor of the fort on March 24, 1823, and continued to hold the appointment until his death in 1833.

Robert Brownrigg,⁷ who subsequently gained some renown by the conquest and annexation of the kingdom of Kandy, was the second son of Henry Brownrigg, of Rockingham, county Wicklow, and was born in 1759.

He received his first commission as Ensign in 1775, served in various regiments at different times, and on several occasions saw active service. In 1795 he became military secretary to the Duke of York, on the appointment of the latter to be Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and in 1799 he received the appointment of Colonel Commandant of the 60th regiment of Foot, then known as "The Royal Americans." In 1803 he was made Quarter Master General of the Army,⁸ and in 1805 obtained the Colonelcy of the 9th (or East Norfolk) regiment of Foot. In 1808 he was promoted

¹ Now the Scots Guards.

² The Annual Register, 1793, p. 68.

³ The Annual Register, 1798, p. 108.

⁴ The Annual Register, 1803, p. 487.

⁵ The Annual Register, 1823, p. 190.

⁶ The Annual Register, 1823, p. 180.

⁷ See Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 7.

⁸ The Annual Register, 1803, p. 482.

to the rank of Lieut. General, and in October 1811, was appointed governor and commander-in-Chief of Ceylon.¹

At the time when Brownrigg became governor of Ceylon the English held only a few towns on its coast, the interior of the island being then under the rule of a native monarch, the king of Kandy. This potentate having fallen foul of the English settlers and murdered British subjects, Brownrigg declared war against him, and having increased the forces at his disposal in Ceylon, by two British regiments from India, occupied Kandy, and annexed the kingdom to our possessions on March 2, 1815.

He was made a G.C.B. in January 1815; created a Baronet in 1816,² and promoted to the rank of General in 1819. He returned to England from Ceylon in 1820, and was made Governor of Landguard Fort, as above stated, in 1823.

He died³ at his house at Hilstone, near Monmouth, on April 27, 1833. He was the last Governor of Landguard Fort, and at his death the office ceased to exist.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS.

THE office of Lieutenant Governor was created in 1687 as stated earlier in the book (*see* p. 57), and it continued to exist until 1854, some 20 years after the abolition of the post of Governor. The lieutenant-governorship was, as regards its duties, pay, and position, the same office as that which in earlier days had been held by the "Lieutenant" of the fort. The only difference was the name.

The biographical notices which follow are necessarily somewhat brief, by reason that the holders of the office, Philip Thicknesse and Colonel West excepted, were none of them men of mark—Thicknesse, the most conspicuous figure amongst them, owing his reputation principally to the eccentricity of his character.

Looking at the rate of pay attached to the position, it is no wonder that it did not attract men of exceptional ability; but it possibly found recommendation in the military rank it conferred, accompanied as it was by a good official residence in a salubrious and inexpensive locality.

The Lieutenant-Governor's pay was at first only £73 a year,⁴ and although by the year 1758 it had been increased to £182 10s., it was later on reduced to £172 17s. 6d. (9s. 6d. a-day), at which rate it stood until the office was abolished.

¹ The Annual Register, 1811, pp. 153, 154.

² The Annual Register, 1816, p. 207.

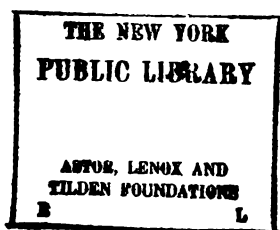
³ The Annual Register, 1833, pp. 220, 221.

⁴ Add. MSS. Brit. Museum. No. 9759, fol. 63.



GENERAL SIR ROBERT BROWNRIGG, BART., G.C.B.

To face p. 112.]



The following roll of the Lieutenant-Governors is complete, although in one or two instances strict accuracy as to dates will be found wanting:—

Name.	Held the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor	
	From	To
Captain Francis Hammond	1687	1711
Captain Matthew Draper	1711	1717
Gwyn Vaughan, Esq.	1717	1718
Captain Bacon Morris	1718	1719
Hugh Plunknet, Esq.	1719	1720-30
Captain Edward Hayes	1720-30	1753
Captain Philip Thicknesse	1753	1766
Captain Anketell Singleton	1766	1804
Colonel John Blake	1804	1806
Colonel Alexander Mair	1806	1811
Colonel Charles Augustus West	1811	1854

CAPTAIN FRANCIS HAMMOND. 1687-1711.

Francis Hammond, appointed on December 8, 1687,¹ was the first of the Lieut. Governors, and in 1711 he succeeded to the governorship ² (*see* p. 103).

CAPTAIN MATTHEW DRAPER. 1711-1717.

When Hammond became Governor, Matthew Draper succeeded him as Lieut. Governor, to which office he was appointed on May 15, 1711.³

In the following year Draper was appointed Captain of the company of Invalids, then quartered at Landguard,⁴ and he continued to hold the dual office of Lieut. Governor and Captain of a company for the next six years at least. This appears by an order ⁵ sent to him in January 1717, to march his company to Harwich while the workmen were "repairing the Barracks at Landguard Fort."

The date at which he relinquished the lieutenant-governorship is uncertain, but in all probability he did so in 1717.

¹ War Office Commission Book. No. 1258, p. 20.

² Military Entry Book. Vol. 8, p. 96.

³ Military Entry Book. Vol. 8, p. 97.

⁴ Military Entry Book. Vol. 8, p. 242.

⁵ Ordnance Warrant Book. Vol. 52, p. 313.

GWYN VAUGHAN, Esq. 1717-1718.

Gwyn Vaughan appears to have become Lieut. Governor in succession to Draper during the year 1717, though the only record on the point is one of a negative character, giving the date of the appointment of his successor in the office, which is announced thus¹ :—

"May 14, 1718. Captain Bacon Morrice appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Landguard Fort in the County of Suffolk, in the room of Gwyn Vaughan, Esq."

Vaughan, who was son of William Gwyn Vaughan, Esq., of Trebarrial, would thus appear to have held the office for about a year only; he afterwards became one of the fourteen Commissioners of Customs for Great Britain, and held that office from 1728 to 1756.

CAPTAIN BACON MORRIS. 1718-1719.

Captain Bacon Morris was appointed Lieut. Governor on May 14, 1718,¹ in the room of Gwyn Vaughan, and held the office until, on September 23, 1719,² he succeeded to the governorship, which was rendered vacant by the death of Captain Hammond (*see* p. 104).

HUGH PLUNKNET, Esq. 1719-1720-30.

Hugh Plunknet was made Lieut. Governor in 1719 in the room of Bacon Morris, who had then been appointed Governor.³

Nothing is known of him, nor can the date at which he died, or relinquished the lieutenant-governorship be accurately ascertained. He had, however, ceased to be Lieut. Governor in 1730, as in that year we find Captain Hayes holding the office.

CAPTAIN EDWARD HAYES. 1720-30-1753.

Captain Edward Hayes, born in 1691, was holding the office of Lieut. Governor in 1730,³ but the date at which he obtained it is not on record. It would, however, seem to be the case that it was conferred upon him at some time between 1719 and 1730.

¹ The Historical Register, 1718. Vol. 3, p. 22.

² The Historical Register, 1719. Vol. 4, p. 37.

³ "The History and Antiquities of Harwich," by Silas Taylor. London, 1732, p. 452.

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PLATE XXII.



CAPTAIN PHILIP THICKNESSE.

To face p. 115.

In 1734 he was, with Bacon Morris, who was then Governor of the fort, elected a burgess of the borough of Harwich.¹

He died on January 7, 1753, and was buried in the graveyard of the fort, and on a headstone over his grave was the following inscription ² :—

In Memory of
EDWARD HAYES, Esqr.,
Lieutenant Governor
of Landguard Fort
in this county,
who departed this life
the 7th of January 1753,
aged 61 Years.
He was Constant and Courageous
in the Execution of his Office
Eminent for his Affability Kindness
and good Nature to all Mankind.

CAPTAIN PHILIP THICKNESSE. 1753-1766.

Philip Thicknesse, born in 1720, and belonging to an old Staffordshire family, was appointed Lieut. Governor in February 1753, *vice* Hayes, deceased.³

He entered the army in 1737 as a Lieutenant in one of the independent companies raised for service in Jamaica, and in 1741 became Captain of a company in Brigadier Jefferies' marine regiment of foot, then being formed at Southampton.

The circumstances attending his dismissal from or resignation of the post of Lieut. Governor have already been narrated in chapter 16.

After the close of his military career he turned his attention to the gentler arts, and became a prolific writer upon subjects of exceedingly varied character ; but he cannot be said to have possessed any particular merit as an author. He also posed as a patron of art, and was no doubt in some measure instrumental in bringing to public notice the great Suffolk artist, Thomas Gainsborough, as a landscape painter, although his principal motive in so doing was, in all probability, a desire to gratify his own personal vanity.

After leaving Landguard he travelled a good deal in Europe, and at times resided in the then very fashionable city of Bath.

¹ Harwich Corporation MSS. Records, 1734.

² Bodleian Library MSS. "Collections for the County of Suffolk," by the Rev. J. Ford.

³ Army List, 1754.

In 1790, James Gillray, the caricaturist, published a most bitter caricature of him, entitled "Lieutenant-Governor Gall-stone inspired by Alecto, or the birth of Minerva—from his head she sprung, a Goddess Arm'd."

In this caricature Thicknesse is represented as seated at his table composing "incendiary letters." On the table lies a paper on which is written, "Landguard Fort—a frontier garrison of importance. Vide own Memoirs," the fort being represented as a mouse-trap. Minerva, fully equipped, is represented issuing from Thicknesse's head, bearing in her hand a wooden gun, on which is inscribed "The coward's delight or the Wooden Gun," and carrying a cracked shield, on which are recorded his "Acts of courage and Wisdom," consisting of charges of a most outrageous nature. The allusions conveyed by this print are all of them extremely personal.¹

Thicknesse died near Boulogne on November 22, 1792; his will contained the following extraordinary bequest² :—

"I leave my right hand, to be cut off after death, to my Son, Lord Audley, and I desire it may be sent him in hopes that such a sight may remind him of his duty to God, after having so long abandoned the duty he owed to a Father who once affectionately loved him."

This bequest referred to his son George,³ by his second wife, Lady Elizabeth Touchet, daughter of the Earl of Castlehaven. Lady Elizabeth's marriage to Thicknesse gave her father great offence, and his Lordship never forgave her for it. She died in 1762 at Landguard, and was buried there. Thicknesse, with characteristic bad taste, caused the following inscription⁴ to be placed upon her grave :—

Sacred to the Memory of
LADY ELIZABETH THICKNESSE.
"The Lord of Hèven forsook her not."

The portrait (*plate 22*) is taken from a drawing by William Hoare, R.A., in the British Museum, where there is also an etching of Thicknesse, over which these not too complimentary lines are written :—

"No ties can hold him, no affection bind,
And Fear alone restrains his Coward mind;
Free him from *that*, no monster is so fell,
Nor is so sure a Blood-hound found in Hell."

¹ "The Works of James Gillray, the caricaturist, with the history of his Life and Times," by T. Wright. London, 1873, p. 116.

² Burke's Extinct Peerage. London, 1883, p. 623.

³ Became Lord Audley on the death of his uncle, Lord Castlehaven, in 1777, and assumed the surname of Touchet in 1783.

⁴ Bank's Dormant and Extinct Baronage, 1808. Vol. 2, p. 22.

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PLATE XXIII.



CAPTAIN ANKETELL SINGLETON AND FAMILY.

Thicknesse may well be said to have been an unprincipled, eccentric, impetuous, and curiously constituted being, possessing probably the worst temper that man was ever cursed with; yet he was three times married. He was a man who, when not actively engaged in quarrelling or in fighting duels, seems to have generally posed as a *farceur* of an almost childish type.

CAPTAIN ANKETELL SINGLETON. 1766-1804.

Captain Anketell Singleton was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in the year 1766 upon the retirement of Thicknesse.

In character he was the exact opposite of his restless, turbulent predecessor, and it is said that for 30 of the 38 years during which he held the lieutenant-governorship he was never known to have once absented himself from the place.¹ This is the more curious as, even in those days, the attractions attached to continual residence at bleak Landguard can hardly have been overwhelming.

He was born in 1722, and was the second son of Thomas Singleton of Singleton Grove, Araghile, county Monaghan: his mother was a daughter of Oliver Anketell, of Anketell Grove, in the same county.

He entered the army in the year 1746, and served as Cornet and Lieutenant in the 1st (or Royal) regiment of Dragoons, until in 1756 he obtained command of a company, as a Captain, in the 3rd regiment of foot (The Buffs).

He died on February 21, 1804, at Claydon, near Ipswich, where he is buried, and where a mural tablet to his memory has been placed in the parish church.

The estimation in which he was held may be gathered from the following extract announcing his death, which is taken from a contemporary newspaper²:—

“Tuesday last, the 21st, died at his house at Claydon, in his 82nd year, beloved and respected by all who knew him, and deeply regretted by his family, Anketell Singleton, Esq., the venerable Lieutenant-Governor of Landguard Fort. During 58 years (38 of which he enjoyed the above commission) he had been a faithful servant to his King and Country, and throughout his long and meritorious life, was not more distinguished as an excellent officer and an accomplished Gentleman, than exemplary in the highest duties of a husband, father, friend, and Christian.”

Plate 23 is taken from a portrait group by Gainsborough, who was a personal friend of Singleton. The picture is now in the possession of the present Recorder of Ipswich, Mr. T. C. Blofeld, J.P., of Hoveton House,

¹ *The Harwich Guide*, Ipswich, 1808, pp. 82, 83.

² *Ipswich Journal*. February 25, 1804.

Norwich, and it is through his kindness that the plate of it has been obtained.

The group represents Singleton and his wife—who was daughter of Francis Grose, the celebrated antiquarian—with their only child Thomas Singleton, who in 1829 became a Canon of Worcester; and the miniature which the boy is holding up is a portrait of Mrs. Singleton's sister, who married Mr. Blofeld of Hoveton House, grandfather of the present owner.

The picture was painted about the year 1790, and measures 30 by 30 inches.

COLONEL JOHN BLAKE. 1804-1806.

Colonel John Blake succeeded to the lieutenant-governorship on Singleton's death in February 1804.

He entered the army in May 1761 as an ensign in the 3rd regiment of foot (The Buffs), and afterwards served in the 24th regiment.

He died at Bury St. Edmund's on February 21, 1806.¹

COLONEL ALEXANDER MAIR. 1806-1811.

Colonel Alexander Mair became Lieutenant-Governor in February 1806, in the place of Colonel Blake deceased, and held the appointment until June 20, 1811, on which date he was transferred in a similar capacity to Fort St. George, Inverness.

He was born in 1755, and entered the army in 1773 as an ensign in the 43rd foot. He served with this regiment in North America from 1774 to 1778, and afterwards with the 40th and 88th regiments in the West Indies, returning to England in 1780.

In 1790 he was appointed to the command of the Invalid companies at Portsmouth, and in 1795 became "commandant of the forces at Hilsea barracks."

He died at Edinburgh on January 26, 1836, in his 81st year.²

COLONEL CHARLES AUGUSTUS WEST. 1811-1854.

Colonel Charles Augustus West, the last of the Lieutenant-Governors of the fort, was appointed on June 20, 1811, and held the office for exactly 43 years.

Born on June 22, 1766, he was the second son of Colonel James West, and in boyhood was a page of honour to King George III. He entered the

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1806. Vol. 76, p. 285.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1836. Vol. 5, p. 549.

PLATE XXIV.



COLONEL CHARLES AUGUSTUS WEST.

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army in 1784 as an Ensign in the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards¹; was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant in February 1797, and to that of Captain in 1804. He saw active service with the regiment in Ireland, Holland, Egypt, Germany, and Denmark, and in the Peninsular War, in which last he was present at the battle of Talavera (July 1809), and was taken prisoner by the French, though rescued later in the day by the advance of the British reserves. Shortly after this he returned to England, invalided, and in June 1811 was appointed Lieut. Colonel of the 1st Royal Veteran battalion.

He married a Miss Charlotte Perry on September 26, 1788, at Gretna Green. At that time he was a page of honour to the King, and could not ask the King's permission to marry. Consequently his marriage took place secretly at Gretna Green.

His eldest son, Charles Edward West, was a most distinguished soldier, and like his father, served in the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards, and commanded a company of that regiment at Waterloo, where he was severely wounded. His two other sons attained high reputation in the service, and both fell victims to their zeal and ability.

Colonel West died² in London on June 20, 1854, within two days of completing his 88th year, and with him died the office of Lieutenant-Governor, an office which he—the most distinguished soldier of the many who had held it—had fittingly occupied for the longest period for which it had ever been held.

The portrait (*plate 24*) is taken from a miniature kindly lent to me by Mr. E. Stow Thompson, of Folkestone, a grandson of Colonel West.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FORT CHAPEL.

CONCERNING the Fort Chapel there is but little to relate. Judging from *plate 4*, which shows the chapel of the fort constructed in 1626, it was then an unpretentious building, standing in proximity to the governor's house, and according to one authority,³ it was consecrated by the Bishop of Norwich in September 1628. There seems to be no reason to doubt that it was a properly consecrated building, and it has already been mentioned that in 1672 the body of the Earl of Sandwich when brought to the fort after being recovered from the sea, lay in state in the chapel there. The chapel in the fort of 1716, however, was merely a large room capable of holding 300 people, built over the entrance gate.

¹ Now the Scots Guards.

² Annual Register, 1854. Vol. 96, page 311.

³ "The Suffolk Traveller," by John Kirby, 1764, 2nd edition, p. 93.

Thicknesse describes¹ the chapel as "a great room—at one end a desk, a pulpit, and pews, at the other end a great window, under that window a table, to administer the sacrament from, elevated above the floor and railed off," and narrates a story of there having been a dance given in it in 1763, by Captain Marsh, who had been sent to the fort as *locum tenens* for him, at the time at which he was himself absent, taking his trial at the assizes at Bury St. Edmund's (see p. 71).

His description of the ball is as follows :—

"The Captain in order to ingratiate himself in the neighbourhood, had given a ball on a saturday night to the neighbouring ladies, the Chapel, a *consecrated one*, was appointed for the dance; the Communion table for the punch and negus, and about four o'clock on sunday morning the ball broke up, but not before Sir John Barker and many of the Gentlemen were compleatly drunk."

Captain Marsh was subsequently brought to trial before a General Court Martial, and one of the four charges upon which he was arraigned was framed on this episode, as follows :—

"For having, in the most public and shameful manner, in direct Violation of the Articles of War, and his Majesty's Royal Proclamation to discourage Vice and Profaneness, assembled a large Number of People of both Sexes in the Chapel of the Garrison under his Command, and though his Majesty's said Proclamation was pasted on a pillar before his Eyes in the said Chapel; yet he, in defiance of the Laws of God, and the Commands of his Sovreign, allowed and encouraged, by his Example, revelling and rioting with musical Instruments, and dancing Country Dances therein, the greatest Part of a whole Night, thereby profaning a Place fitted with all the Externals, and dedicated only to Divine Worship, to the disgrace of Religion, the Corruption of the Troops, and to the great Offence of the whole Neighbourhood."

He was found Guilty of "Indiscretion!"

At the beginning of the present century this same chapel was temporarily used as a barrack-room, in order to accommodate the increased number of men then in the garrison, and whilst the chapel was so occupied, Divine Service was "performed by the chaplain under the gateway or in the open air."²

One relic of the fort chapel still exists—the Communion plate, chalice, flagon, and paten—which have found an undignified resting-place in the Barrack Store at Harwich.

¹ "Memoirs and Anecdotes of Philip Thicknesse." London, 1788. Vol. 2, pp. 82-4.

² "The Harwich Guide." Ipswich, 1808, p. 66.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CHAPLAINS OF THE FORT.

IN the 17th and 18th centuries a chaplain for the fort appears to have been considered as necessary as a governor or lieutenant-governor, and in the establishment¹ sanctioned for Landguard in 1627 (*see* p. 19) a chaplain—name not given—is shown, receiving pay at the rate of £40 a year.

The chaplaincy appears to have been usually a non-residential office, and in most cases to have been held in addition to some other benefice.

We find, however, that in the time of the Commonwealth, the Puritan government, being naturally as anxious for the spiritual as for the temporal welfare of its soldiers, provided them with the ministration of a resident spiritual pastor, for on April 22, 1654, the Rev. William Manning was appointed by Cromwell to act as resident religious instructor to the then garrison, the warrant² appointing him running as follows:—

“Oliver P.

“Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. To all whom these presents may concerne.

“Know ye that we do hereby constitute and appointe William Manning to be Minister of the Garrison of Landguard Fort. You are therefore to make your present repaire unto the saide garrison, and taking the said place into y^r charge, you are diligently to intend the execution thereof; and faithfully and duly to execute and perform all things incident and belonging thereunto; and the Officers and Souldiers of the said Guarrison are to acknowledge you as their chaplain, and you are to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from ourselfe, or the superior Officer of the said Guarrison according to the discipline of warr.

“Given under our hand and seale the 22 day of April 1654.”

The chaplain's pay under the Commonwealth was 4 shillings a day.³

In 1659 a new establishment⁴ was sanctioned for the fort (*see* p. 32) which included a “Preacher.”

No further reference to the chaplaincy is met with until 1708, in which year it appears that the Rev. Edward Rust, vicar of Walton, was chaplain of the fort;⁵ Sir James Thornhill, too, mentioned him in his

¹ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 254, No. 41.

² Add. MSS. Brit. Museum, No. 19,087, fol. 77.

³ State Papers, Domestic, of 1652. Vol. 24, No. 41.

⁴ Harleian MSS., Brit. Museum. No. 6844, fol. 188.

⁵ Chamberlayne's “*Magnæ Britanniae Notitia*,” 1708.

diary (*see* p. 64) ; and he was still holding office in 1716.¹ "Parson Rust² was noted for sitting up and playing wth cobblers, tinkers, &c., all night at an ale-house, and going from thence to church." He is also mentioned as a "man of wit."

The chaplain's salary was at that time £36 10s. a year (2 shillings a day), but in 1789 it had fallen to £34 11s. 6d.

From 1754 to 1810 the names of the chaplains appear annually in the officially published army lists, as follows :—

1754—1760	-	-	-	-	John Lloyd.
1761—1772	-	-	-	-	Andrew Layton.
1773—1778	-	-	-	-	Thomas Kirkbank.
1779—1805	-	-	-	-	William Brown.
1806—1810	-	-	-	-	Thomas Williams.

As evidence that the holding of the chaplaincy did not necessitate residence in, or even in the immediate neighbourhood of the fort, it is noticeable that the Rev. John Lloyd, chaplain in 1754, held at the same time the rectory of Rotherham in Yorkshire, and never even saw Landguard. He had, it seems, to provide a deputy to perform the chaplain's duties at the fort, for which he paid him the princely remuneration of 1s. a day, presumably retaining the other shilling of the pay as his own perquisite.

His deputy chaplain was the Rev. Andrew Layton, rector of St. Matthew's church, Ipswich, who resided, of course, in that town, between which and Landguard—13 miles apart—he had to ride to and fro whenever his ministrations were required at the fort : this arrangement was, however, found to work so unsatisfactorily as regards the performance of the chaplain's duties, that in 1759 it caused Thicknesse, who was then lieutenant-governor, to induce the Secretary at War to supersede Lloyd³ and to give the chaplaincy to Layton "an honest sensible man, with a large family." Layton retained it until his death on May 23, 1772.

Layton's immediate successor, the Rev. Thomas Kirkbank,⁴ and the Rev. Thomas Williams, chaplain in 1805, were both of them vicars of the adjacent parish of Walton.

In the army list of 1811 no chaplain is shown, which leads to an inference that the office of permanent chaplain was abolished, in the previous year, and the spiritual care of the troops arranged for by utilising the services of a local clergyman : the vicar of Felixstowe now visits the fort and conducts a service there every Sunday morning.

¹ Chamberlayne's "Magnæ Britanniae Notitia," 1716, p. 576.

² See "The Humours of Landguard Fort." Add. MSS., Brit. Museum. No. 24, 669.

³ "Memoirs and Anecdotes of Philip Thicknesse." London, 1788. Vol. 2, pp. 266-7.

⁴ Military entry book. Vol. 28, p. 278.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FORT BURIAL GROUND.

As in earlier times the British government rarely adopted half measures, it is not surprising to find that, a consecrated chapel having been built within the walls of the fort, the adjunct to it of a grave-yard was also provided.

This grave-yard is first mentioned in Taylor's "History of Harwich"—written in 1676—as follows¹:—"which ancient fort² was not far distant from the modern one; Where now is the common Burial for the Soldiers; and where are yet to be seen two Faces and Flankers of a Bastion; the remains doubtless of the ancient one; the rest of it being eaten away by the Sea."

Incidentally this fixes the exact site of one of the bulwarks of 1540 and 1588 (*see* pp. 5 and 8).

The position of the grave-yard is indicated on all Landguard maps of the last century, and in a survey³ dated as lately as the year 1864 it appears as "Grave-yard (remains of.)" The exact position it occupied is shown in *plate* 10.

For many years the sea has been encroaching upon that part of the shore, and there now remains no trace at all of a burial ground, nor any indication of its former existence.

Although no actual record of its original consecration can be found, the following extract⁴ from the consecration book of the Norwich diocese affords, I think, presumptive evidence that the original burial-ground was at some time duly and properly consecrated.

"1828. Nov. 2. A piece of land containing 130 feet in width & 65 feet in length consecrated by Bishop of Norwich as an additional Burial Ground to the fort called Landguard Fort in the parish of Felixstowe, Suffolk—for the interment of persons dying in the said Fort."

The following inscriptions copied from head-stones in the burial ground are taken from MSS. in the Bodleian Library, entitled "Collections for the County of Suffolk, containing an account of forty-five parishes," by

¹ 2nd edition, 1732. p. 17.

² *i.e.* the bulwark prior to 1626 (*see* p. 8).

³ Surveyed in 1864 under the direction of Captain H. H. Jones, R.E.

⁴ Book II., p. 21.

the Rev. James Ford, perpetual curate in St. Lawrence, Ipswich, 1808-1830;
Rector of Navestock, Essex, 1830-1850; died Jan. 31, 1850.

I.

In Memory of
JOHN ANCOR late
Master Gunner¹
of Landguard Fort
who died 2^d June
1762
aged 86.

II.

In Memory of
THOMAS TUCKER, Esq^r.
Late Captain in the
Pembrokeshire Militia
who died the 19th of June 1781
Aged 22 Years.

III.

In Memory of
JOHN ROBERTS²
Ensign
of y^e Royal Invalids
died Aug^t 12th 1794
Aged 65 Years.

IV

In Memory of
ANDREW M'LAUGHLAN
Store-Keeper
who departed this Life
31st, of Oct^{br}, 1795
Aged 43 Years.

¹ Appointed June 12, 1734.

² Appointed Ensign to the Independent company of Invalids at Landguard on June 6, 1776.

At the back of this stone—

V.

In Memory of
Susanna Wife of
ANDREW M'LAUGHLAN
Store-keeper
who departed this Life
the 1st of Sep^r 1789
Aged 33 Years.

VI.

Near this Spot are interred
the Remains of
GEO. LAWE, Esq.¹
Formerly a Captn in the 84th Foot
he serv'd his King & Country for more than
Fifty Years with a disinterested Zeal and integrity
that does Honour to his Name.
he died universally and Deservedly lamented
on the 8th of August 1805 in the 68th Year of his Age
at this Fort where he had resided some Years
as Ordnance Storekeeper, his only Surviving
Son in this Kingdom has placed this small but
affectionate Tribute
to his Memory.

At the back of Lawe's stone—

VII.

In Memory of
WILLIAM LAWE
Esqr., Surgeon, R.N.
Son of the aforesaid
who departed this Life
at Harwich
October 16th 1817
Aged 43 Years.

¹ "He served under Gen. Wolfe, Monckton, and Townshend in America, and acted with reputation as assistant-engineer at Belleisle and Martinico; at the memorable assault at Quebec he headed the gallant party of Volunteers which attacked and repulsed General Montgomery; in General Carleton's dispatch he is particularly and honourably mentioned. His social qualities, gaiety, pleasantry, and livening inoffensive humour endeared him to all. His zeal and exertions in the service of his friends was singularly disinterested. His merits alone recommended him to Lord Cornwallis, who appointed him Store-keeper at Landguard Fort, in the year 1795, where he lived universally beloved and esteemed. His remains were interred with military honours, attended by the officers of the garrison."—From the *Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1805, p. 882.

VIII.

In Memory of
JOHN JONES ESQR¹
 Twenty nine Years Resident
 in the Garrison
 esteemed and beloved
 died June 12th 1806
 aged 54 Years.

IX.

In Memory of
 Elizabeth, Wife of
JOHN HOGG
 Master Gunner at Landguard Fort,
 who died 23^d of July 1818,
 Aged 74 Years,
 Be ye also ready!

Also **JOHN HOGG** Leat Master
 Gunner² at Landguard Fort who
 departed this Life 13 da' 1811 Aged
 74 years.

There was also a head-stone in memory of Mrs. Alice Cumming, wife of Lieut. Cumming of the Royal Pembroke Militia, who died on October 16, 1805, aged 57. And there were the two mentioned in a previous part of the book in memory of Captain Edward Hayes (*see* p. 115), and of Lady Elizabeth Thicknesse (*see* p. 116).

¹ Born in 1751; married at Felixstowe, in 1780, to Mary, daughter of Ensign John Roberts, mentioned above. The present representative of the family is his great-grandson, Sir Lawrence Jones, of Cranmer Hall, Fakenham, Norfolk. He was appointed Ensign to the Invalid company at Landguard on August 13, 1794, on the death of his father-in-law, Ensign Roberts.

² Appointed March 1, 1800.

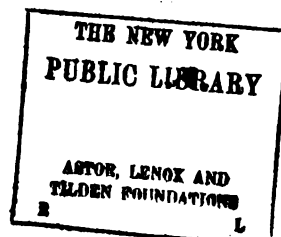
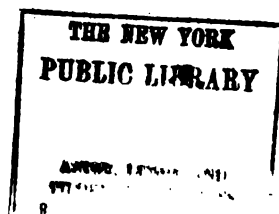


PLATE XXV.



ROBERT RICH, 2ND EARL OF WARWICK.

[To face p. 127.]

CHAPTER XXVI.

ROBERT RICH, 2ND EARL OF WARWICK; AND THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH, THE FAMOUS PAINTER.

THIS history would be incomplete were no more than mere passing notice taken in it of two very celebrated men, whose connection with Landguard Fort was not of a military nature. These two men are Robert Rich,¹ 2nd Earl of Warwick, the designer and architect of the fort of 1626; and Thomas Gainsborough,² the celebrated Suffolk artist, painter of the picture of the second fort, built in 1716.



Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick, eldest son of Robert Rich, 1st Earl, was born in 1587, and succeeded to the title in March 1619; Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, was his younger brother.

Warwick was a man of independent spirit, not, like his brother Holland, addicted to the pleasures and effeminacy of the royal court, but a man of energy and action, who early in life took a leading part in the formation of several of our North American colonies.

In 1624 he was, as has been already stated (*see* p. 9), appointed joint Lieutenant of Essex, and took a very active part in making preparations against an expected Spanish landing, and had, moreover, entire charge of the building of Landguard Fort, the construction of which was commenced under his directions about the middle of that year. He held the office of Lieutenant of Essex until the end of 1626, but for the next 15 years devoted all his energies to colonial enterprise and privateering expeditions, during which time he gradually drifted into opposition to the policy of Charles I., and had, when the king quitted Whitehall in 1642, become one of the most zealous champions of the parliamentary cause.

In February 1642, he became Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk and Essex. He was a member of the parliamentary committee of both kingdoms from its formation in February 1643, and in December of that year was appointed Lord High Admiral, proving himself in that capacity a most efficient and popular commander. He was also head of the commission entrusted by the Long Parliament with the government of the Colonies.

In 1645 he resigned the office of Lord High Admiral, and became chief of the commission entrusted with the government of the navy; he was, however, re-appointed Lord High Admiral in 1648, after the parliamentary fleet had revolted to the king, and it was mainly owing to his influence that the fleet subsequently returned to its allegiance to the parliament.

¹ See Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 48.

² See Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 20.

At the beginning of 1649 he was deprived of his office of Lord High Admiral, by reason of the then impending trial of his brother, the Earl of Holland, and he did not subsequently take any active part in the political affairs of the Commonwealth, although remaining throughout a consistent supporter of Cromwell, whose fourth daughter, Frances, married Warwick's grandson, in 1657.¹

He died April 19, 1658, in his 72nd year, and is buried at Felsted,² in Essex.

In private life he has been described by his daughter-in-law as the "most best-natured and cheerfulest person I have in my time met with," and, although it is outside the province of this work to discuss details of his public life, except so far as they bear upon the history of Landguard Fort, I cannot better conclude this slight sketch than by here recording the epigrammatic, yet touching, words that were uttered over his grave:

"All who knew him loved him, and if any man did not love him 'twas because he did not know him."³

The portrait of the Earl (*plate 25*) is taken from Houbraken's "Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain."⁴



Gainsborough's connection with Suffolk is too well known to require comment in these pages, though it is not so generally known that his picture of Landguard Fort, painted in 1753 (*plate 9*), primarily established his reputation as a landscape painter. The story of that picture has been told by Thicknesse⁵ as follows:—

"Soon after his⁶ remove to Ipswich I was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Landguard Fort,⁷ not far distant, and while I was walking with the then printer and editor of the *Ipswich Journal*, in a very pretty town garden of his, I perceived a melancholy-faced countryman, with his arms locked together, leaning over the garden wall. I pointed him out to the printer, who was a very ingenious man, and he, with great gravity of face, said the man had been there all day; that he pitied him, believing he was either mad or miserable. I then stepped forward with an intention to speak to the *mad man*, and did not perceive, till I was close up, that it was a *wooden man* painted upon a shaped board. Mr. Creighton (I think that was

¹ "The House of Cromwell," by J. Waylen. London, 1897, p. 123.

² Felsted school was founded by the 1st Lord Rich, Warwick's great-grandfather, in the 16th century.

³ "A History of Felsted School," by John Sargeaunt. London, 1889, p. 98.

⁴ Published 1743-1752. 2 vols.

⁵ "A Sketch of the Life and Paintings of Thomas Gainsborough, Esqr.," by Philip Thicknesse. London, 1788, pp. 9-15.

⁶ Gainsborough.

Thicknesse was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in February 1753.

the printer's name) told me I had not been the only person this inimitable deception had imposed upon, for that many of his acquaintance had been led even to speak to it before they perceived it to be a piece of art; and upon finding the artist himself lived in that town, I immediately procured his address, visited Mr. Gainsborough, and told him I came to chide him for having imposed a shadow instead of a substance upon me. Mr. Gainsborough received me in his painting room, in which stood several portraits truly drawn, perfectly like, but stiffly painted, and worse coloured; among which was the late Admiral Vernon's, for it was not many years after he had taken Porto Bello, with six ships *only*; but when I turned my eyes to his little landscapes and drawings, I was charmed. Those were the works of fancy, and gave him infinite delight. Madam Nature, not man, was then his only study, and he seemed intimately acquainted with that beautiful old lady. Soon after this, the late King passed by the garrisons under my command, and as I wanted a subject to employ Mr. Gainsborough's pencil in the landscape way, I desired him to come and eat a dinner with me, and to take down in his pocket-book the particulars of the Fort, the adjacent hills, and the distant view of Harwich, in order to form a landscape of the yachts passing the garrison under the salute of the guns, of the size of a pannel¹ over my chimney-piece. He accordingly came, and, in a short time after, brought the picture. I was much pleased with the performance, and asking him the price, he modestly said, he hoped I would not think fifteen guineas too much. I assured him that in my opinion it would (if offered to be sold in London) produce double that sum, and accordingly paid him, thanked him, and lent him an excellent fiddle; for I found that he had as much taste for music as he had for painting, though he had then never touched a musical instrument; for at that time he seemed to envy even my poor talent as a fiddler. But before I got my fiddle home again, he had made such a proficiency in music that I would as soon have painted *against him* as to have attempted to fiddle *against him*. I believe, however, it was what I had said about the landscape and Thomas Peartree's head, which first induced Mr. Gainsborough to suspect (for he only suspected it) that he had something more in him, which might be fetched out. He found he could fetch a good tone out of my fiddle, and why not out of his own *palate*? The following winter I went to London, and I suspected—for like Mr. Gainsborough, I only suspected—that my landscape had uncommon merit. I therefore took it with me, and as Mr. Major, the engraver, was then just returned from Paris, and esteemed the first artist in London in his way, I showed it to him. He admired it so much, that I urged him, for both their sakes as well as mine, to engrave a plate from it, which he seemed very willing to undertake, but doubted whether it would by its sale (as it was

¹ The size of the picture was 58 inches long, by 33½ inches high.

only a perspective view of the Fort) answer the expense. To obviate which, I offered to take ten guineas worth of impressions myself. He then instantly agreed to do it. The impression will show the merit of both artists, but alas, the picture, being left against a wall which had been made with salt water mortar, is perished and gone. That engraving made Mr. Gainsborough's name known beyond the circle of his country residence, and he was soon after by me, and several of his friends, urged to remove to Bath, and try his talents at portrait painting in that fluctuating city, at which time I had a house there, and resided during the winters."

The dedication below the engraving is as follows :—

"To the Right Honourable Lord George Beauclerk, Colonel of the Nineteenth Regiment of Foot, and Governor of Land-Guard Fort in Suffolk. This South East View of the said Fort is most humbly Inscribed by his Lordship's Dutifull and most Obedient Humble Serv^t Tho^s Major."

"Published August 5th, 1754, by T. Major, Engraver to his R.H. the Prince of Wales, at the Golden Head in Chandois Street, near S^t Martin's Lane, London."

Several copies of the engraving exist, and one was recently presented to the Royal Artillery Mess, at Landguard Fort.

APPENDIX.

“THE HUMOURS OF LANDGUARD FORT.”

THIS manuscript (Add. MSS., Brit. Museum, No. 24,669), consists of 252 folio pages, and is written throughout by the same hand. It is divided into two parts, each of which contains several poems, admittedly written in imitation of the satires of Horace. There are copious notes in the manuscript explanatory of the local allusions; but, as all the names mentioned are fictitious, it is difficult in some cases to identify the persons referred to.

The preface, given below, sufficiently explains the scope and general idea of the work.

Neither the author's nor editor's names are given, nor does it seem that the poems were ever printed. The date of the manuscript can be fixed with reasonable certainty as 1766–1767, for in it there is a copy of the letter written by the Secretary at War (Lord Barrington) to Thicknesse on September 18, 1765, which has already been quoted at page 75.

The preface is as follows:—

“THE EDITOR TO THE READER.”

“The following satire with several other Manuscripts both in prose and verse relating to the same subject were put into my hands by an acquaintance in the North of England, whose Brother was Executor to a Gentleman lately deceas'd in those parts, in whose study they were found:—but who was the author of 'em is not known, they being wrote in a differ^t hand to what y^e Gentleman wrote. I communicated the whole to a society of which I am a member, and the following being adjudg'd by them not altogether unworthy of y^e publick, I committed them to y^e Press, not because there is any Harmony in the verse, or Beauty & Elegance in the expression, but purely upon the account of y^e truth of the facts related therein and to expose baseness & villainy to the world—Most of y^e Members of our society being North Country men, several of 'em wrote down to y^e acquaintance to enquire into the truth thereof, & by y^e Answers receiv'd, were all well satisfy'd y^t there is nothing mentioned in y^e following satire, but what is founded upon truth:—Nay several affirm that they knew all the Persons characterized in it, and y^t the whole is founded upon Matters of

Fact:—if so, it is very proper they sh^d be expos'd, such things being too enormous to be pass'd by in silence & buried in oblivion.

“This satire, it seems, was occasion'd by y^e ill treatm^t a Clergyman, w^o officiated as Chaplain in one of his Majesties' Garrisons in the North,¹ (but wth we are not inform'd) rec^d from Sir Toby Toddle,² newly promoted to be L^t Govern^r in the said Garrison.

“This Gentleman observing how Sir Toby upon his first coming down behav'd towards the officers in y^e Garrison as well as towards others of all ranks, insulting those that were cringing and submissive, and oppressing & treating those extremely ill who stood up in defence of y^e privileges and the Honour of their rank, obliging them to harder duty than in any of his Majesties Garrisons in Great Britain so y^t they were seldom above two nights in a week in their Beds.—He gave several but very weak pretences, for his treating of 'em in this manner especially in time of Peace, so they soon growing weary of these and other Hardships impos'd upon them, petition'd y^e Secretary at War to be remov'd to other Garrisons, & some of 'em were remov'd. The Officiating Chaplain, I say, observing this Behav^r to others, expecting in a short time to meet with the like treatment, and being of a peaceable and quiet disposition, endeavour'd to behave in such a manner, if possible, not to give offence:—But all to no purpose: For no sooner had S^r Toby purg'd the Garrison of all those, even to y^e very sutlers Gunners, whom he perceiv'd not to be supple enough to comply with his illicit orders, but he began to shew a coolness and disrespect to y^e Chaplain without giving any reason for his doing so, as if unaccountable to anyone for what he did,—& in a short time he procur'd his dismissal, unknown to him, till the hour he was discharg'd, nether was y^r any fault or omission laid to his charge, till after y^e fact was over, & these were entirely false & groundless, & contriv'd afterw^{ds} y^t he might have something to amuse the world with for his acting so rashly and inconsiderately.—In the room of the discarded Chaplain he recomended one D^r Woodenhat, (a person of a proud, insolent, litigious temper, but one who would cringe to any scoundrel to promote his own Secular Interest) to succeed him, & he was appointed accordingly.

“These two Worthy Gentlemen, S^r Toby Toddle & his learned Chaplain, D^r Woodenhat, us'd to have frequent private meetings in the Day time in back lanes and unfrequented places, and in the evenings at their own Homes, especially on Sundays, after the D^r had done preaching, at which Times, the Doctor who us'd to ride up and down y^e country all y^e week to pick up what scandalous stories he could, relating to the discarded Chaplain:—at these Meetings, I say, he us'd to relate what he had heard to

¹ This is, of course, Landguard Fort.

² Philip Thicknesse.

S^r Toby.—who having a fertile genius at scandal, would form out of y^e most innocent Action of Life a most shameful & scandalous Defamation, without any regard to truth, or even decency. Thus clubbing Brains, they invented the basest of Crimes they could imagine to charge upon y^e late Chaplain to palliate S^r Toby's usage of him to y^e world, as if he had been y^e most profligate villain living:—They persecuted him in a most shameful manner by exposing him in scandalous Pictures, Lampoons, Libels, &c., and y^a writing ridiculous Answers to 'em themselves.—They abus'd him wherever they met him, calling him fool, scoundrel, &c., and if it was in the street, they would endeavour to raise a mob about him, threatn'ing how they would ruin him, —pull his Gown over his Ears, & make him fly his country, &c. Nay, they even proceeded so far as to write to y^e B^p of y^e Diocess ag^t him, laying most grievous offences to his charge,—But poor men, they were so weak and simple, y^t they even betray'd their own envy & malice in their charge, so y^t his Lordship took no further notice of it, being fully satisfy'd of y^e accused's Innocency and Character & of their inveterate spleen against him.—Several instances of their abuse are hinted at in y^e following satire, w^{ch} we shall illustrate with some few short notes at the bottom, as we shall likewise some of y^e other characters mention'd therein:—And this the rather, because some persons may think y^t they or some of y^r friends are pointed at, which were never intended by y^e Author, nor were ever once in his thoughts.

“By what we have said, the following satire may seem to have relation only to a private affair, but the Author has therein given us besides as many Instances of y^e abuse of power and riches as could well be inserted in so narrow a compass.”

THE END.

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